Reconstructing Indian History & Culture, no. 23

History of Jainism

with Special Reference to Mathura



V. K. Sharma

As one of the world's major religions, founded on the spiritual principles of *ahiṁsa* (non-violence), truth, and righteous conduct, Jainism has today 2,600 years of a splendid living tradition — with a well-defined world view, metaphysics and code of ethics. A leading scholar, V.K. Sharma here presents an altogether fresh, pan-Indian historical survey of this great religion, spelling out its beginnings, antiquity, doctrines, *tīrthaṁkara*s, country-wide spread and, among other aspects, its contribution to India's culture and art heritage — in all its varied manifestations.

In the latter part of the book, the author comes to focus upon Jainism in the specific contexts of Mathurā — one of India's ancient cities, which not only is venerated as the legendary birthplace of Lord Kṛṣṇa, but is also famed as an eminent centre of Brahmaṇical, Buddhist and Jaina art. Thus shows Dr. Sharma how this principal Vaiṣṇava centre today had been a stronghold of Jainism: from *c*. second century BC to about eleventh century AD; how it has contributed to Jaina canon, literature and iconography; and how in Mathurā is traceable the centuries-long, unbroken history of Jaina plastic art.

Setting out a panoramic view of Jaina architecture, sculptural art, and socio-religious life over the ages, specially in the sacred city of Mathura, this study is based on wide-ranging authoritative sources and supplemented by a number of highly representatives illustrations.

History of Jainism

with Special Reference to Mathurā

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Foreword

Dr. V.K. Sharma, the author of this excellent book on the history of Jainism, asked me to write a foreword to it. It was an immensely rewarding exercise for me to go through this book and, the author deserves my sincere appreciation for his genuine labour. Mathurā enjoys a significant position in the cultural history of India, and Jainism also played a significant role to enrich the culture of this illustrious city. The author has explained that Jainism obtained a strong foothold in Mathurā by the second century BC and continued to flourish in this city up to the eleventh century AD in spite of fierce foreign invasions. The erection of Jaina religious edifices at Mathurā can, in fact, be assigned to a period much anterior to the second century BC, if the inscriptional evidence regarding the construction of the *deva-nirmita stūpa* at Mathurā is discussed and understood in totality.

Jaina art and architecture had their inception and evolution at Mathurā; the remains of Jaina sculptures discovered at Lohanipur near Patna are the notable exceptions. Mathurā had an unbroken history of Jaina plastic art embracing a period of more than one thousand years. No other centre of Jaina art in India has a record comparable to this. It is pertinent to note that Jaina art at Mathurā did not enjoy royal patronage; the artists who produced objects of art like the images and *āyāga-paṭṭa*s worked on the support of the Jaina community of this city. The specimens of Mathurā ateliers enjoyed demand for long and, *tīrthaṁkara* images in red sandstone, a peculiarity of the Mathurā school of art, were installed at distant places also.

The epigraphic evidence embodied in the pedestals of the *jina* images and *āyāga-paṭṭa*s constitutes the basic and the most authentic source for the reconstruction of the early history of Jainism in Mathurā. These inscriptions

are a mirror of the Jaina social order and religious organisation at Mathurā in the early centuries of the Christian era and the period preceding it. Most of these epigraphs are dated; they bear the Kuṣāṇa or the Śaka saṁvat. Therefore, their historicity is beyond question.

The great ideals of austerity, penance, detachment, compassion and non-violence have been well illustrated through the Jaina art at Mathurā, but the taste of the society also finds reflection in it. We, therefore, notice scenes of music, dance and merriment even on the components of the *stūpa*s, generally built over the relics of the *jina*. The demise of the *jina* was not looked upon with grief. *Nirvāṇa* or the extinction of the body of the *jina* was a joyous event because by attaining the *kaivalya-jñāna* (supreme knowledge) he had become free from the bondage of the world.

The transformation from the symbols to the anthropomorphic form was a hallmark of sculptural development at Mathurā, and this is true of the Jaina art also. The tiny seated *jina* figure on the *āyāga-paṭṭa*s is attended by beautifully carved auspicious motifs. The *jina* figure is subsequently replaced by independent stone images of the *jina*s in *kāyotsarga* and *dhyāna* attitude. These postures remain fixed, but the character of the *jina* image changes with the passage of time. The *jina* images of Mathurā of the Kuṣāṇa period look stereotyped. But the figure becomes trim, slender and elegant in the Gupta period. The harmonious blend of physical beauty with spiritual grace in the image was an outstanding contribution of the Mathurā artist during the Gupta period. The aureole carved with a number of concentric bands and the tastefully carved halo bespeak radiation of knowledge from the *tīrthaṁkara*s in all directions. This was the aesthetic representation of *samavasaraṇa* (preaching to all).

All these aspects have been handled with great care by Dr. V.K. Sharma. The first part of the book deals with the national horizon of Jainism. It is a comprehensive survey of the development and spread of this faith to various parts of India. The association of Jainism with Mathurā was not an isolated and regional phenomenon. It, in fact, was a part of a widespread movement.

Mathurā was closely associated with the compilation of the Jaina canon also. It also participated in the great literay movement designated as the Sarasvatī movement in the history of Jainism. The literary output of the Jainas — religious as well as secular — has been remarkable and Mathurā had a fair share in its production. Mathurā made a significant contribution to the development of Jaina iconography and the history of Indian art would remain incomplete without reference to Jaina art products of Mathurā.

The second half of the book profusely highlights the main subject, i.e., Jainism in Mathurā, a historical and cultural survey. The author has elaborately analysed the various aspects in a judicious way. He has rightly assessed that the division of Jainism into the Śvetāmbara sect and the Digambara sect did not originate at Mathurā although the issues of difference as in view, have been discussed in detail. Dr. Sharma has, however, avoided to pronounce his judgement on those delicacies which have casually appeared in art manifestations, and which may be interpreted from various angles.

He has rightly expressed concern over the circumstances in which the excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā were conducted by Fuhrer. He has been rightly critical of his ill-conceived methodology and his sudden disappearance from the scene after the death of Buhler. The antiquity of Jainism was a hotly debated subject among European scholars in the nineteenth century, and to some extent it remains shrouded in mystery. Prof. H. Hartel of Berlin, who conducted archaeological excavations at Soṅkh near Mathurā from 1966 to 1974 (a work with which, I was associated for many years), told me that this controversy has still not ended.

The author has gone deep in his investigations and consulted almost all original and secondary sources. For a general reader the long list of footnotes may appear as somewhat overdozing, but for the researchers these references are of utmost importance.

This book is certainly a laudable contribution to the field of oriental studies, and Dr. Sharma has carved for himself a dignified niche in the galaxy of scholars by authoring a magnificent monograph on the history of

Jainism with special emphasis on its history in Mathurā. I hope this book will be welcomed by students, researchers, scholars and faithful Jaina devotees alike. I extend my heartiest congratulations to the author for producing such a wonderful treatise.

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Vārāṇasī

R. C. Sharma
Formerly
Director — General
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Preface

MATHURĀ — the heart of Braj — and, described as one of the seven holy cities of India, has been sacred to the Hindus from very early times. This city was held in high esteem by the Jainas also. In fact, in the early centuries of the Christian era, Mathurā became the principal centre of Jainism in northern India. This book unfolds the history of Jainism in Mathurā from the earliest times. The history of Jainism in Mathurā is a part of the history of Jainism as a whole. Therefore, the first four chapters of this book deal with Jainism and its early history. The remaining three chapters are devoted to the history of this faith in Mathurā.

Archaeological excavations conducted at Mathurā in the nineteenth century have yielded immense epigraphic, sculptural and architectural material relevant to the history of Jainism in this city. I have made full use of this material in this study. The chapters dealing with the history of Jainism in Mathurā have been written principally on the basis of these archaeological finds. Some information exists in Jaina literature, too, regarding the state of Jainism in Mathurā. This material has also been utilised in this study. The material dealing with the history of Jainism in other parts of the country has also been drawn from both sources — literary and archaeological.

Government Museum, Mathurā, is a renowned institution for research and I am extremely thankful to the authorities and staff of Government Museum, Mathurā, particularly to Shri Shatrughan Sharma and Shri Ganga Ram, for making adequate arrangements for my study regarding this book in the library and galleries of the museum. Shri Shatrughan Sharma's manifold co-operation in the preparation of this book deserves my praise.

I am highly thankful to Dr. R.C. Sharma, formerly Director-General,

National Museum and presently Hony. Director/Ācārya, Jñāna Pravāha, Vārāṇasī, for his encouragement, suggestions and valuable advice. I am also thankful to him for writing the foreword to this book. I also thank the scholars whose works have been utilised in this book. My wife Bishan Sharma's multiple co-operation was a source of strength to me and I am deeply indebted to her for it.

I am grateful to the authorities of American Institute of Indian Studies, Gurgaon, for providing the photographs included in this book. Last but not least, I am deeply thankful to Shri Susheel K. Mittal, Director, D.K. Printworld (P) Ltd, New Delhi — the publisher of the book — for his genuine interest in its publication, and providing it a fine get-up.

Virendra Kumar Sharma

7-B Geeta Enclave
Bank Colony
Mathurā — 281 004

24 June, 2002

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Abbreviations

AAHI	*An Advanced History of India, Ancient India*
ACHI	*A Cultural History of India*
AGI	*Ancient Geography of India*
AI(M)	*Ancient India*
AII	*Archaeology in India*
AJAA	*Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*
AOIK	*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*
AOIU	*The Age of Imperial Unity*
ASIAR, III	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, vol. III
ASIAR, XVII	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, vol. XVII
ASIAR, XX	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, vol. XX
ASIAR, 1906-7	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1906-7
ASIAR, 1922-3	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1922-3
CA	*The Classical Age*
CAI	*Culture and Art of India*
Census, 1931	*Census of India*, 1931

CHAI, III	*Concise History of Ancient India*, vol. III
CHI, I	*The Cambridge History of India*, vol. I
CII, III	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* vol. III
CMHI, II	*A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II
CUHI, I	*The Cultural Heritage of India, Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial*, vol. I
DGM, 1911	*District Gazetteer of Mathurā*, 1911
DGM, 1968	*District Gazetter of Mathurā*, 1968
DJI	*Digambara Jaina Iconography*
EI, I	*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I
EI, II	*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II
EI, X	*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. X
EI, XX	*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XX
Elliot and Dowson, II	Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by its Historians*, vol. II
Elliot and Dowson, IV	Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by its Historians*, vol. IV
ERE, II	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. II
ERE, VII	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. VII
GD	*The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*
GEAMI, I	*The Geographical Encyclopaedia of Ancient and Medieval India*, Part I.
HGAI	*Historical Geography of Ancient India*
HIEA	*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*

Abbreviations

HJM	*History of Jaina Monachism*
HOFA	*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*
HOIC, I	*A History of Indian Civilisation*, vol. I
HOPEW	*History of Philosophy Eastern and Western*
HP	*Harivaṁaśa Purāṇa*
IGI, II	*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. II
Introductory Booklet	*Introductory Booklet*, Śrī 1008 Jambūsvāmī Jaina Siddha Kṣetra, Mathurā
IP	*India's Past*
ISP	*Mathurā Kī Guptakālīn Jain Mūrtiyon Kā Pratimā Lakṣaṇa*. Paper presented in the International Seminar held at Government Museum, Mathurā
JAA, I	*Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. I
JI	*The Jaina Iconography*
JIR	*Jainism in Rajasthan*, Sholapur, 1963
JISI	*Jainism in South India*
JOLR	*Jainism, The Oldest Living Religion*
JPV	*Jain Pratimā Vigyān*
JS	*The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*
JSAI	*Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India*
JSS	*Jaina Sects and Schools*
JUPHS, III	Mathurā Museum Catalogue, V.S. Agarawala, Part III, *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*
LDJC	*Life in Ancient India as Depicted in Jaina Canons*
MCH	*Mathurā — The Cultural Heritage*

MDM	*Mathurā — A District Memoir*
MI	*Mathurā Inscriptions*
MJ	*Medieval Jainism*
MM no.	Government Museum, *Mathurā Object Number*
MS	*Mathurā Scultpures*
NM no.	*National Museum Object Number*
OISJ	*On the Indian Sect of the Jainas*
OJ	*Outlines of Jainism*
Poddar Abhinandan	*Poddar Abhinandan Granth*
RI	*Religions of India*
ROAI	*Religions of Ancient India*
SFE	*The Struggle For Empire*
SIJA	*Studies in Jaina Art*
SML no.	*State Museum,* Lucknow Object Number
TSPC, II	Hemacandra, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, vol. II
TSPC, III	Hemacandra, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, vol. III
TSPC, IV	Hemacandra, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, vol. IV
TSPC, VI	Hemacandra, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, vol. VI
Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa	Jinaprabha Sūri, *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*
Vogel, *Catalogue*	J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*
Yaśastilaka	*Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*
EWA, VIII	*Encyclopaedia of World Art*, vol. VIII

Transliteration Chart

a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	e	ai	o	au
अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ

ṁ	ḥ	ṛ	lṛ
अं	अः	ऋ	लृ

k	kh	g	gh	ṅ
क्	ख्	ग्	घ्	ङ्
c	ch	j	jh	ñ
च्	छ्	ज्	झ्	ञ्
ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ
ट्	ठ्	ड्	ढ्	ण्
t	th	d	dh	n
त्	थ्	द्	ध्	न्
p	ph	b	bh	m
प्	फ्	ब्	भ्	म्

y	r	l	v
य्	र्	ल्	व्
ś	ṣ	s	h
श्	ष्	स्	ह्

kṣ	tṛ	jñ
क्ष्	त्र्	ज्ञ्

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1

Introduction to Jainism

JAINISM is one of the oldest religions in India. It evolved at an early period of Indian history[1] and has been called by numerous names. Through the ages, Jainism and its culture have been called by names and epithets like the Ṛṣabha Cult, the Ahiṁsā Dharma, the Śramaṇa Dharma, the Nirgrantha Dharma, the Yogamārga, the Vrātya, the Ārhat, the Syādvāda Mat, the Anekānta Mat, the Samāni, the Bhavya, the Sarāka, the Bhāvaḍe, the Sewaḍe, the Śrāvaka, the Jaina, etc., in various parts of India.[2] It is a religion with a complete system; it has its dogma, metaphysics, philosophy, mythology, ethics and ritual. Jainism is a living religion[3] and has got a strong hold upon an influential section of the Indian people.[4] The adherents of this religion, now called Jainas, were known as Nirgranthas for long.[5] These days they are sometimes called Sarāugīs[6] or Sarāogīs[7] also.

The majority of the Jainas belong to the trading classes[8], and they hold an important position in Indian society[9] because of their wealth and education.[10]

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1. *ERE*, VII, p. 465; *CUHI*, I, p. 185; *ACHI*, p. 100; *JOLR*, p. 1.
2. *JSAI*, Introduction, pp. 5-6.
3. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 6; *ACHI*, p. 100; *AI (M)*, p. 170; *SIJA*, p. 3.
4. *AI (M)*, p. 170.
5. *LDJC*, p. 21; *RI*, p. 283 fn. 2; *ROAI*, p. 117; *JI*, p. 12.
6. *MDM*, p.13.
7. *JSAI*, Introduction, p. 5; DGM, 1911, p. 82; Census, 1931, p. 493.
8. *ERE*, VII, p. 472; *OISJ*, p. 1; *CUHI*, I, p. 222.
9. *IP*, p. 72; *JSAI*, Introduction, p. 6.
10. *ERE*, VII, p. 472; *OISJ*, p. 1; *IP*, p. 72.

Important cities of India have considerable Jaina population.[11] The principal sub-divisions of the Jainas are the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara. The states of Gujarat, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Karnataka have the largest number of Jainas in India.[12] The Digambara Jainas preponderate in south Maharashtra and Karnataka, and the Śvetāmbara Jainas are more numerous in Gujarat and the Punjab.[13] As a whole, the Jainas are economically well-off. Jaina affluence is most noticeable in the celebration of festivals, construction of temples and deeds of public welfare.

Jainism was a popular religion in India in the ancient and early medieval period. The period from the fifth century AD to the tenth century AD was the most flourishing in the history of Jainism, particularly in south India. Probably, one-third of the total population of the Deccan professed Jainism during this period.[14] But there has been a considerable decline in the number of the Jainas during the past ten centuries. According to the census of 1901, the Jainas numbered 1,334,140, and this strength was less than 1/2 per cent of India's population.[15] The Jaina population in India was 1,178,000 in 1926[16] and a little over two million in 1975.[17] At present Jainism is professed by more than five million in India.[18] Hermann Jacobi[19] and A.A. Macdonell[20] felt that Jainism is a rigorous religion to practice; it is suitable for the upper classes and unfit for the illiterate masses, and this accounts for its small numerical strength. It is difficult to agree with this view. Jainism, undoubtedly, lays great stress on an austere and rigorous life. It, in fact, is a votary of asceticism.

11. *JAA*, I, p. 34; *ERE*, VII, p. 472; *OISJ*, p. 1.
12. *JAA*, I, p. 34.
13. *Ibid.*
14. A.S. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 310, cited in *JSAI*, p. 247 fn. 3.
15. *ERE*, VII, p. 472.
16. *IP*, p. 72.
17. *ACHI*, p. 100.
18. A.K. Mazumdar, *Early Hindu India*, Delhi, 1981, p. 263.
19. *ERE*, VII, p. 472 fn. 1.
20. *IP*, p. 72.

But India has rightly been called the homeland of asceticism.[21] Tradition and legend have united to glorify the ascetic in India.[22] The popularity of Jainism in ancient and early medieval India disproves the viewpoint of Jacobi and Macdonell.

Jainism declined in numerical strength due to a variety of causes. With the passage of time the Jainas lost their early zeal and many evils crept into the Jaina society.[23] The advent of Islam in India also delivered a cruel blow to Jainism. As a result of Muslim aggression the Jainas living in various parts of India lost contact with each other; forced conversion of the Jainas to Islam and the policy of destruction and demolition adopted by many Muslim rulers of India weakened the monastic organisation of Jainism.[24] The consequent disintegration of the Jaina church destroyed the bond of unity among the Jainas and their numerical strength kept on dwindling.[25]

But, in spite of the small numerical strength of its followers, the contribution of Jainism to the Indian heritage has been extremely significant. Through the ages, Jainism has produced admirable monks and nuns, kings, military generals, ministers, statesmen, authors, philosophers, religious leaders, financiers, industrialists, traders, artists, scholars, etc.[26] Religious instincts fostered by Jainism have created impression on many aspects of Indian life.[27] Jainism has made a significant contribution in the domain of politics also. Epigraphic records of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu contain facts which reveal that Jainism made a remarkable contribution to the

21. *HJM*, p.1.
22. *ERE*, II, p. 187.
23. *CUHI*, I, p. 222.
24. *HJM*, p. 136; *JIR*, pp. 51-3.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-7.
26. For a detailed information on this subject one is advised to consult B.A. Saletore, *Medieval Jainism*; K.C. Jain, *Jainism in Rajasthan*, 1963; Jyoti Prasad Jain, *The Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India*, 1964; Jyoti Prasad Jain, *Pramukh Aitihāsik Jain Puruṣa Aur Mahilāen*, 1975.
27. *ACHI*, p. 100.

suceess and stability of the magnificent Vijayanagara empire and many other kingdoms of south India.[28] Jainism has enriched Indian philosophy, art, architecture, languages both Aryan and Dravidian, literature, social life and pattern of living, and to this contribution we shall turn in some detail later in this book.

Misconceptions about Jainism

After the establishment of British rule in India, European scholars devoted themselves to the task of exploring the philosophy and religions of India. About the beginning of the nineteenth century Jainism attracted notice of European scholars.[29] But they could not form a correct opinion about this faith for long owing to the absence of original texts which at the time were scarcely available in Europe.[30] Consequently, Jainism was misunderstood and misrepresented. Some European scholars looked upon Jainism as an off-shoot of Buddhism.[31] Some others viewed it as a rebellious variety of Brāhmaṇism[32] or as a revolt against this religion.[33]

Jainism is not an off-shoot of Buddhism

The older generation of Sanskrit scholars held two opinions on these subjects. Colebrooke, Prinsep, Stevenson, E. Thomas and some others thought that Jainism is older than Buddhism.[34] But distinguished orientalists like H.H. Wilson, Lassen and Weber were of opinion that Jainism is an off-shoot of Buddhism.[35] The latter view was held on the basis of some striking resemblances

28. *MJ*, p. 2.
29. *HJM*, p. 14.
30. *CHI*, I, p. 152.
31. *ERE*, VII, p. 465.
32. *OJ*, Introduction, xxix.
33. *ROAI*, pp. 111-12; E.B. Havell, *History of Aryan Rule in India,* p. 59; Maurice A. Canney, *An Encyclopaedia of Religions*, 1976, p. 195; *JOLR*, Preface, i.
34. *CHI*, I, p. 152.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 152; *OISJ*, p. 23 fn. 1.

in the Jaina and Buddhist records of which only a small part had reached Europe at that time.[36] But thanks to the researches of Hermann Jacobi, J.G. Buhler, Guerinot and some others the view that Jainism is an off-shoot of Buddhism stands discredited. Between 1879 and 1884, Jacobi undertook the refutation of the negative thesis that Jainism arose out of Buddhism.[37] In his introductions to volumes XXII and XLV of the *Sacred Books of the East*, Jacobi thoroughly exploded the myth that Jainism is an off-shoot of Buddhism. Jacobi wrote,

> Notwithstanding the radical difference in their philosophical notions, Jainism and Buddhism, being originally both orders of monks outside the pale of Brāhmaṇism, present some resemblance in outward appearance, so that even Indian writers occasionally have confounded them. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that some European scholars who became acquainted with Jainism through inadequate samples of Jain literature easily persuaded them that it was an off-shoot of Buddhism. But it has since been proved beyond doubt that this theory is wrong, and that Jainism is at least as old as Buddhism.[38]

On the strength of references in Pāli literature, Jacobi proved that the Jainas existed before the time of Mahāvīra, who was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, and that Mahāvīra was a reformer of the order of ascetics founded by Pārśvanātha rather than being the founder of Jainism.[39] Jacobi succeeded and his role is largely remembered because of this accomplishment.[40] After his study of inscriptions excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā, J.G. Buhler, another eminent German scholar, also reached the conclusion that Jainism is not an off-shoot of Buddhism. Buhler wrote,

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36. *CHI*, I, p. 152.
37. *MCH*, p. 104.
38. *ERE*, VII, p. 465.
39. *Sacred Books of the East*, vols. XXII and XLV, Introductions; also see *ERE*, VII, pp. 465 ff.
40. *MCH*, p. 104; *LDJC*, p. 21; *RI*, p. 283 fn. 2

> Old historical traditions prove the independent existence of the sect of the Jainas even during the first five centuries after Buddha's death, and among the inscriptions are some which clear the Jaina tradition not only from the suspicion of fraud but bear powerful testimony to its honesty.[41]

Jacobi had proved the independence of Jainism from Buddhism on the basis of literary evidence, Buhler provided epigraphical evidence to confirm it.

Points of similarity and difference between Jainism and Buddhism

There are, undoubtedly, some similarities between Jainism and Buddhism. Both are pessimistic and monastic religions.[42] Both consider the world as an abode of sorrow and hold that salvation is the aim of human life.[43] Both deny the authenticity of the Vedas as an infallible authority and question the efficacy of the rites prescribed in them for the purpose of salvation.[44] Both ignore the conception of God.[45] Both lay emphasis on a rigorous system of discipline based on a code of moral and spiritual behaviour.[46] Both advocate stress on pure and moral life rather than on worship of and devotion to God as the means to salvation.[47] Both believe that *nirvāṇa* can be achieved by one's own efforts.[48]

But, these similarities are largely superficial in nature. In fact, Jainism and Buddhism radically differ in religion as well as metaphysics.[49] Their

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41. *OISJ*, p. 23.
42. *IP*, p. 68.
43. *AI (M)*, p. 168; *ERE*, VII, p. 465.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. *AOIU*, p. 361.
47. *AI (M)*, pp. 168-9.
48. Sital Prasad, *Comparative Study of Jainism and Buddhism*, 1982, p. 196.
49. *RI*, p. 286.

conceptions about soul and many other matters are fundamentally different and cannot be explained away as later additions.[50] Both advocate the attainment of *nirvāṇa*, but they differ in their methods of realising it.[51] Jainism advocates the possession of right belief, right knowledge and right conduct as a means to the attainment of *nirvāṇa*,[52] but Buddhism suggests the eight-fold path as a means to this end.[53] They differ in their concept of *nirvāṇa* also. The suggested meaning of *nirvāṇa* in Buddhism is extinction.[54] But in Jainism *nirvāṇa* means the attainment of its original pure nature or state by the soul.[55] They differ in the concept of soul also. Gautama Buddha denied the existence of soul.[56] Jainism, on the other hand, believes in the reality of soul.[57] Jainism lays great stress on asceticism.[58] But Gautama Buddha decried it[59], and preached the middle path[60] or the path of moderation that avoids extreme,[61] i.e., the mean between laxity and asceticism.[62] In their doctrine of non-violence, too, Jainism and Buddhism are not in total agreement. Jainism preaches non-violence even towards inanimate things.[63] But the Buddha was not averse to meat-eating, and is said to have died of dysentery caused by eating pork.[64]

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50. *AI (M)*, p. 169.
51. *ERE*, VII, p. 465.
52. *CUHI*, I, p. 195; *OJ*, p. 53; *OISJ*, p. 5.
53. *RI*, pp. 305-6; *Bhikshu Sangharakshita, A Survey of Buddhism*, 1957, pp. 133-5.
54. *JI*, p. 3; *CUHI*, I, p. 272; Sital Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
55. *HJM*, p. 4.
56. *CUHI*, I, p. 259; G.F. Allen, *The Buddha's Philosophy*, London, 1959, p. 42; *AOIU*, p. 372.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 224; *OJ*, p. 7; *JI*, p. 4.
58. *RI*, p. 287; *JI*, p. 4; *IP*, p. 71; *AI (M)*, p. 169.
59. *The World's Great Religions*, 1959, p. 43; *IP*, p. 71.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 43; G.F. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40; *AI (M)*, p. 169.
61. G.F. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
62. *RI*, p. 310 fn. 1.
63. *HOIC*, I, p. 162; *JI*, pp. 3-4.
64. *RI*, p. 310 fn. 1.

In metaphysics Jainism recognises a dualistic realism.[65] Buddhism, on the other hand, emphasises the doctrine of universal void.[66] The Digambara Jaina monks lay great stress on nudity.[67] The Buddha, on the other hand, denounced the practice of going out naked.[68] The Jaina canon is different from the Buddhist canon; it also gives an impression of greater antiquity.[69] The lay community in Jainism plays a greater part in the administration of its religion.[70] The fundamental theories of Jainism, i.e., the *syādvāda*; the Jaina division of living beings, especially the elementary lives, are not found in Buddhism.[71] In fact, Jainism and Buddhism were rival religions[72] and had distinct historical origins.[73] Jainism is certainly older than Buddhism. It is, therefore, not surprising that because of the greater antiquity of Jainism some scholars considered Buddhism as an off-shoot of this religion.[74]

Points of similarity and difference between Jainism and Hinduism

Jainism has much in common with the Hindu systems of philosophy. Like Sāṁkhya and Yoga schools of Hindu philosophy, Jainism believes in dualism of matter and soul, looks upon worldly life as bad and painful, and holds that liberation from the cycles of birth by the possession of right knowledge is the aim of human life.[75] Like Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and Pūrva-

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65. *ERE*, VII, p. 468; *OJ*, p. 7; *JI*, p. 4.
66. *CUHI*, I, pp. 261-5; *JI*, p. 3.
67. *OISJ*, p. 2; *IP*, p. 69.
68. *AI(M)*, p. 169; *AOIU*, p. 362.
69. *ROAI*, p. 120.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
71. *ERE*, VII, p. 465 fn. 3.
72. *CHI*, I, p. 151; *JOLR*, p. 5; *SBE*, vols. XXII and XLV, Introductions.
73. *AI(M)*, pp. 168-9.
74. *ROAI*, p. 111.
75. *ERE*, VII, p. 465.

Mīmāṁsā schools of Hindu philosophy, Jainism rejects the doctrine of the creator of the universe and also the theory of creation.[76] Like the Uttara-Mīmāṁsā, Jainism considers the world as a product of evolution.[77] Jainism resembles the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā in emphasising the potency of *karma*[78], and resembles the Vedānta (Uttara-Mīmāṁsā) in maintaining that every individual soul (*jīva*) is potentially a *parmātman*.[79] The *ātmavāda* of Jainism, 'though different from the Upaniṣadic view',[80] is close to the spirit of the Vedānta.[81]

But Jainism has its peculiarities as well. It differs from the Sāṁkhya and the Yoga in the methods of realising salvation.[82] According to Hinduism, Jainism is heretical because it denies the authority of the Vedas.[83] The Jaina doctrine of non-violence is opposed to Vedic ritualism.[84] The Jaina and the Hindu conceptions of God are fundamentally different.[85] Like the Sāṁkhya and the Yoga, Jainism believes in the dualism of matter and soul, but these metaphysical principles are worked out on different lines in this religion. The Sāṁkhya School of philosophy has adopted Brāhmaṇical modes of thought, but Jainism which is non-Brāhmaṇical, has adopted animistic ideas.[86] The canons of Hinduism and Jainism are different. The Jainas do not believe in Hindu funeral rites; they also do not venerate sacred places of the Hindus.[87]

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76. *CUHI*, I. pp. 186-7.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Ibid.*
80. *ERE*, II, p. 801.
81. *ROAI*, p. 131.
82. *ERE*, VII, p. 465.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 465.
84. *CUHI*, I. p. 191.
85. *ACHI*, p. 108.
86. *ERE*, VII, p. 465 fn. 2.
87. *JI*, p. 2.

Relationship between Jainism and Hinduism

It is evident that Hinduism and Jainism are two different religions. But, in spite of its numerous differences, Jainism is nearer to Hinduism than Buddhism.[88] The opposition of Jainism to Hinduism has been less pronounced,[89] and it has been more accomodating to Hinduism than other unorthodox faiths.[90] Hinduism, too, has been sympathetic to Jainism,[91] and has shown respect and receptivity to it.[92] In fact, a process of give and take has been a characteristic feature of the relationship between Hinduism and Jainism.[93] Hinduism and its ethics bear conspicuous stamp of Jainism.[94] Similarly, considerable Hindu influence can be traced on Jainism.[95] Both Jainism and Hinduism have laid stress on asceticism,[96] and scholars like Jacobi,[97] Buhler[98] and Charpentier[99] have noticed exact similarity between the rules laid down for Hindu *saṁnyāsīs* and Jaina monks. Mahāvīra was not opposed to the brāhmaṇas; he was opposed to the degenerate priestly class.[100] The brāhmaṇa was conceived as an ideal man. In the Jaina texts dealing with the ideal qualities of the brāhmaṇas, the śramaṇas are designated as such.[101] Jainism

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88. *RI*, pp. 286-7.
89. *ROAI*, pp. 121-2.
90. *AOIU*, p. 425; *AI(M)*, p. 169.
91. *JIR*, p. 234.
92. *HOIC*, I, p. 167.
93. S.D. Jha, *Aspect of Brahmanical Influence on the Jaina Mythology*, 1978, Introduction, p. 13.
94. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 13; *ERE*, II, p. 813.
95. *Ibid.*, pp. 235-6, Rerospect; *ERE*, II, pp. 802, 812; *ERE*, VII, p. 470; *OISJ*, pp. 15-16; *AOIU*, p. 362; *CHI*, I, pp. 150-2; *ROAI*, pp. 113-14; *HJM*, pp. 52 ff; *AOIK*, p. 295.
96. *RI*, p. 287.
97. *CHI*, I, p. 151; *HJM*, p. 52.
98. *OISJ*, pp. 15-16; *ibid.*
99. *CHI*, I, p. 151; *ibid.*
100. *HJM*, p. 64.
101. *Ibid.*

has not been opposed to caste system.[102] The brāhmaṇa priests (*pujārīs*) are employed in Jaina temples.[103] There was no trace of pessimism in the attitude of Ṛgvedic Aryans,[104] and the doctrine of transmigration of soul was unknown to the early Brāhmaṇas.[105] Probably, Hinduism adopted these features from Jainism.[106] *Tīrthaṁkara* Śāntinātha's sermon[107] sounds like a commentary on *Gītā*.[108] The Jaina and Hindu Purāṇic teachings are almost identical.[109] The definition of *dharma* as given by the *Mahābhārata* and Guṇabhadra, the Jaina *purāṇakāra*, is identical.[110] The doctrine of non-violence on which Jainism lays great stress has found modified approval in Hinduism.[111] The Jaina pontiffs like Jinasena prescribed rules and practices laid down by Brāhmaṇa dharmaśāstras for the Jainas.[112]

Nāga-worship, tree-worship and *yakṣa*-worship were common to Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism in ancient India.[113] After the adoption of idol-worship the difference between a Hindu and a Jaina became almost non-existent in ancient India.[114] In fact, with the passage of time little outward difference existed in the rituals, mode of worship and religious celebrations of the Hindus and the Jainas.[115] The Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist idols were often

102. *JI*, p. 3; *AOIU*, p. 425; *CUHI*, p. 222; *AOIK*, p. 295.
103. *Ibid.*; *RI*, p. 286; *ROAI*, p. 125.
104. *ERE*, II, p. 802; *CUHI*, I, p. 29.
105. *AOIU*, p. 363.
106. *Ibid.*
107. *TSPC*, vol. III, pp. 322-3.
108. S.D. Jha, *op. cit.*, p. 257.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
111. *RI*, p. 287; S.D. Jha, *op. cit.*, p. 255; *JIR*, p. 234.
112. S.D. Jha, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-6; *JSAI*, p. 248.
113. V.S. Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, Varanasi, 1970, pp. 104, 116, 180.
114. *HOIC*, I, p. 166.
115. *JSAI*, p. 248.

installed side by side in one temple.[116] Jainism has adopted many Hindu gods and goddesses to its pantheon.[117] The general way of life of a Hindu and a Jaina in Rajasthan is almost the same.[118] Regarding Uttar Pradesh the *Census Report of India* says,

> The difference between Jains and Hindus is not very distinct, and in practice seems more social than religious. Closely connected as Jains are by race and profession with certain sections of the Hindu community, inter-marriages have, in the past, not been uncommon.[119]

The Hindus and the Jainas participate in each other's festivals also. The message of Jainism to mankind is: 'Be a man first and last, for the kingdom of God belongs to the son of man'; this very truth is proclaimed in unmistakable terms by the Upaniṣadic text *tat tvam asi* 'Thou Art That'.[120]

Background of Jainism

To a great extent Jainism is a primitive religion. There is much in it that is pre-Aryan. But it has also been influenced by Brāhmaṇic thought and practices. The origin and growth of Jainism was the consequence of both pre-Aryan and Aryan influence.

Before the advent of the Aryans in eastern India some recluses or primitive people held a number of ideas like a pessimistic outlook on life, the doctrine of transmigration of soul, belief in the presence of soul or life in all things.[121] These ideas were later submerged in the general stream of Indian thought.[122] Jainism had its origin in eastern India. Many philosophical ideas

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116. *JSAI*, p. 248.
117. *JI*, p. 3; *AOIU*, p. 425; *JIR*, p. 234; *OISJ*, p. 61.
118. *JIR*, p. 234.
119. Census, 1931, p. 495.
120. *CUHI*, I, p. 219.
121. *ACHI*, p. 100; *AOIU*, pp. 362-3.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 100; *Ibid.*, p. 362.

of Jainism were either borrowed from or were a survival of the thought currents of the primitive people of eastern India.[123] This was the primitive or pre-Aryan or non-Aryan background of Jainism. But it was also influenced by the thought and practices of Brāhmaṇism.[124] This was the Aryan background of Jainism.

Outlines of Jainism

It is beyond the scope of this book to deal with the metaphysics, philosophy, mythology, ethics and rituals of Jainism exhaustively. We turn to these subjects succinctly. Jainism does not believe in a Creator[125] or a Creator God[126] or a Supreme Being[127] and also rejects the theory of creation.[128] Like the Uttara-Mīmāṁsā School of Hindu philosophy, Jainism views the world as a product of evolution.[129] Jainism holds that the world is not created or ruled by God;[130] it is without beginning and end;[131] it is everlasting and exists on the strength of its elements.[132]

Conception of God in Jainism

In Jaina metaphysics there is no room for God either as a creator or as a distributor of prizes.[133] Jainism has generally been labelled an atheistic religion. In an article on atheism, Hermann Jacobi, an internationally renowned authority on Jainism, wrote,

123. *AOIU*, p. 363.
124. S.D. Jha, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. 13, 235-6, Retrospect.
125. *CUHI*, I, pp. 189-90.
126. *AJAA*, p. 50.
127. *JI*, p. 4.
128. *CUHI*, I, pp. 189-90.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
130. *ERE*, II, p. 187.
131. *OISJ*, p. 9; *ERE*, II, p. 187.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
133. *ACHI*, p. 108.

> Jainism is atheistical, if by atheism we understand the belief that there is no eternal Supreme God, Creator and Lord of all things; for the Jainas flatly deny such a Supreme God.[134]

He also wrote,

> Though the Jainas are undoubtedly atheistical as we understand the term, still they would probably object to being styled atheists.[135]

In fact, Jaina scholars hold that Jainism is not atheistical. Lakshmi Chandra Jain writes,

> Jainism cannot be regarded as a Nāstika or atheistical religion, simply because it does not believe in a Creator God. It believes in the eternal existence of soul (Jīva) and of five other substances. . . . It believes in the potentiality of each soul to achieve Nirvāṇa or the State of Godhood.[136]

J.L. Jaini writes,

> As compared with most other religions, it is important to notice that Jainism has a very definite and uncompromising attitude towards the conception of God. It is accused of being atheistic. This is not so, because Jainism believes in Godhood and in innumerable gods; but certainly Jainism is atheistic in not believing its gods to have created the universe.[137]

But, Jainism believes in a highest deity —*parama-devatā*[138] or *parmātman*.[139]

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134. *ERE*, II, p. 186.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
136. *JAA*, I, Prefece, vii.
137. *OJ*, pp. 4-5.
138. *ERE*, II, p. 187.
139. *CUHI*, I, p. 191.

This highest deity is the *jina*;[140] the *jina* is an object of veneration,[141] the highest object of worship.[142] The *jina* deserves to be worshipped, because he is the conqueror of the world and provides the ideal, i.e., salvation from the cycle of births and deaths, which are characteristic of the world.[143] Jainism also believes in innumerable gods, who are of various kinds and of various degrees of perfection.[144] But these gods are not eternal.[145]

Like the Sāṁkhya School of Hindu philosophy, Jainism is dualistic. It believes in the existence of the *jīva* (soul) and the *ajīva* (non-soul).[146] According to Jainism, these two exhaust between them all that exists in the universe.[147] As a result of the contact between the *jīva* and the *ajīva*, i.e., the living and the non-living, energies are forged which lead to various experiences of life like birth and death.[148] This process can be stopped and the energies already forged can be destroyed by following a path of descipline which can lead to salvation.[149] This statement contains seven propositions, i.e., the seven *tattvas* or realities of Jainism.[150] These seven propositions are as follows:[151]

1. There is the *jīva* or the living.
2. There is the *ajīva* or the non-living.
3. The *jīva* and the *ajīva* come into contact with each other.
4. This contact produces some energies.

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140. *ERE*, II, p. 187; *CUHI*, I, p. 191.
141. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
142. *CUHI*, I, p. 191.
143. *Ibid.*
144. *ERE*, II, p. 186.
145. *Ibid.*
146. *CUHI*, I, p. 224; *JI*, p. 4.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
148. *Ibid.*
149. *Ibid.*
150. *Ibid.*

5. The process of this contact can be stopped.

6. The existing energies can also be destroyed.

7. Salvation can be achieved.

The ethics of Jainism stands for realisation of *nirvāṇa* or *mokṣa*.[152] According to Jainism, *nirvāṇa* or *mokṣa* means the attainment of its original purity by the soul.[153] Jainism views *nirvāṇa* as a highly special or transcendental condition of human soul in which it remains eternally and absolutely free from passion, hatred, birth, decay, desire, etc., because of complete destruction of all causes of sorrow.[154] The *nirvāṇa* or salvation can be achieved by right faith, right knowledge and right conduct.[155] These three jewels or *tri-ratna* is the *mokṣa mārg* or path of salvation in Jainism.[156] None of these three jewels can ensure salvation individually; their togetherness is the essential condition for the attainment of *mokṣa*.[157]

Jainism attaches supreme significance to *anekāntavāda*[158] or the theory of Indefiniteness of Being.[159] The essence of *anekāntavāda* is that reality should be looked at from many points of view.[160] The *anekāntavāda* theory is upheld by a dialectical method called *syādvāda*.[161] The Jainas attach so much importance to this method that *syādvāda* is frequently used as a synonym for Jainism.[162] *Syādvāda* — the doctrine of 'It may be so' — is a mode of reasoning

151. *CUHI*, I, p. 224.
152. *ERE*, VII, p. 470.
153. *HJM*, p. 4.
154. *CUHI*, I, p. 273.
155. *HJM*, p. 4; *ERE*, VII, p. 470; *JI*, p. 7; *OJ*, p. 53.
156. *CUHI*, I, p. 195.
157. *Ibid.*
158. *ERE*, VII, pp. 467-8.
159. *Ibid.*
160. *CUHI*, I, p. 236.
161. *ERE*, VII, p. 468.
162. *Ibid.*, p. 468.

which makes it possible to assert and deny the existence of one and the same thing.[163] The doctrine of *nayas* is supplementary to the doctrine of *syādvāda*, and in a way is the logical complement to it.[164] The essence of the doctrine of *nayas* is that all ways of judgement are partially true.[165]

The doctrine of *ahiṁsā* or non-violence is central to Jainism; no religion has laid greater emphasis on it than this creed. The Jaina discipline is very hard. It preaches non-attachment, abstinence from intoxicants, adultery, gambling, hunting, taking food at night, etc.[166] The rituals of Jainism are not as elaborate as Hindu rituals, but they certainly surpass those of Buddhism.[167] The Jainas worship the images of their *tīrthaṁkaras* and gods in their temples, and many rites and ceremonies are observed in respect of worship. The Jainas also practise confession of sins before the teacher.[168] Jainism attaches great significance to pilgrimages, and four months in the year are specially devoted to fastings, reading of sacred books and spiritual meditation. Jaina festivals are lavishly celebrated. The Jainas have adopted some Hindu festivals also.[169]

Ideals of Jainism

To a large extent Jainism is a direct representative of the ancient Magadhan culture or the stream that was known as Śramaṇic.[170] This stream stands in sharp contrast to the Brāhmaṇic current of Indian culture. The avowed aim of Jainism is the perfection of man.[171] It holds that every individual soul (*jīva*) is capable of achieving godhood. It preaches severe discipline, self-control, renunciation and austerity. Jainism respects and glorifies the ascetic. The

163. *OISJ*, p. 11.
164. *ERE*, VII, p. 468.
165. *Ibid.*
166. *JI*, p. 9.
167. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
168. *Ibid.*, p. 11; *ROAI*, p. 128.
169. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

spirit of universality is a characteristic feature of Jainism. It inspires each man to become a *jina* or a conqueror, and believes in the potentiality of each soul to achieve *mokṣa* or salvation. Thus, its avowed aim is to lead all men to salvation.[172] Man is not perfect, but he can attain perfection. Jainism holds that man is the architect of his destiny[173], and he should strive to reach as near perfection or godhood as possible.[174] It advocates conquest of the body, the senses and the world-stuff. A Jaina feels inspired by the moral grandeur of the *jina* and by the metaphysical solitude of the *kevalin* or the perfect.

Ethics is the most glorious aspect of Jainism. According to Jainism, the highest good of the society is the highest good of the individual.[175] It stands for absolute and eternal happiness for all living beings.[176] Jainism interprets non-violence in an extremely comprehensive sense. It attributes soul to all sentient creatures. It holds that plants, air, water and minerals, too, have soul. Jainism believes that non-violence means abstinence from all thought, speech and action that can provoke discord and conflict. *Ahiṁsā* or non-violence is the principal religious idea of Jainism. The ethics of this religion is based on the doctrine of non-violence. Accroding to Jainism, *ahiṁsā* is not a negative virtue. On the contrary, it views it as a positive quality which preaches universal love. One who is actuated by this ideal cannot be indifferent to the sufferings of others.[177] *Anekāntavāda* constitutes the philosophical ideal of Jainism. Its attitude towards other religions is determined by *anekāntavāda*, which means that reality should be looked at from many points of view. Peace and tolerance are, thus, inherent in Jainism.

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170. *JSAI*, Introduction, p. 4.
171. *JAA*, I, p. 35.
172. *OISJ*, p. 3.
173. *AOIU*, p. 425; *CAI*, p. 78.
174. *OJ*, p. 5.
175. *Ibid.*, Introduction, xxiii
176. *Ibid.*, Introduction, xxii.
177. *HOPEW*, p. 139.

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Jaina Tīrthaṁkaras and antiquity of Jainism

THERE is a great divergence of opinion regarding the antiquity of Jainism. Mahāvīra is generally regarded as the founder of Jainism.[1] But the Jaina tradition is steadfast in maintaining that Jainism is eternal, and was repeatedly revealed by twenty-four *tīrthaṁkaras*,[2] who appeared at long intervals to restore to their original purity doctrines which were darkened by evil influences,[3] and to propagate right knowledge, right faith and right conduct to the people steeped in ignorance about reality.[4] The title *tīrthakara* is peculiar to Jainism; among the Buddhists it is a designation for false teachers.[5] But in Jainism, the meaning of *tīrthakara*[6] or *tīrthaṁkara*,[7] is entirely different. We find several definitions of a *tīrthaṁkara* in both Śvetāmbara and Digambara literature[8] according to which *tīrthaṁkara* means a prophet or the founder of a religion.[9]

According to Buhler and Jacobi, the meaning of *tīrthakara* — prophet or

1. *CHI*, I, p. 153; *AI (M)*, p. 167.
2. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
3. *OISJ*, p. 7.
4. *HJM*, p. 57.
5. *OISJ*, p. 6.
6. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *OISJ*, p. 6; *CHI*, I, p. 153.
7. *JI*, p. 15; *CUHI*, I, p. 236; *AJAA*, p. 2.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
9. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *CHI*, I, p. 153; *JSS*, p. 9; *JI*, p. 15.

founder of religion — is a derivation from the Brāhmaṇic use of the word *tīrtha* in the sense of 'doctrine'.[10] He is the *tīrthakara* because he is the proclaimer or founder of the doctrine[11] or the founder of the ford through the ocean of the world.[12] The *tīrthaṁkara* is also called the *jina* because he is a conqueror, of the world, and of lust, anger, etc.[13] He is also called the *arhat* because he is the holy one.[14] In Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣcarita* and the inscriptions found from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā, we find repeated use of the title *arhat*[15] for the *tīrthakara* or the *tīrthaṁkara* or the *jina*. In the Jaina inscriptions discovered from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā, besides the epithet *arhat*, the title *bhagvata* has also been frequently used for the *tīrthaṁkara*.[16]

Although the epithet *tīrthaṁkara* is pre-eminently and extensively used these days, the title used in the *ācārāṅga* — the earliest of the Jaina āgamic works — is *arahaṁta*, and it is used in plural; this indicates that there were many such persons.[17] The *tīrthaṁkara* is also called *kevalin* or *sarvajña* because he possesses omniscience.[18] The *tīrthaṁkara*s occupy the highest position in Jainism. They were exalted to the highest eminence because they performed great services for the deliverance of mankind.[19] In Jainism, the *jina* is the highest deity; he is the teacher of sacred law; he is free from all emotions; he possesses omniscience, and is entirely indifferent to all that belongs to the world.[20] The *tīrthaṁkara* typifies all that is perfect and infinite

10. *OISJ*, p. 7 fn 6.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 6; *CAI*, p. 77; *AOIU*, p. 411.
13. *Ibid.*, p.6; *JI*, pp. 16-17.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
15. *TSPC*, III, pp. 235-40; *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 47, p. 9, no. 59, p. 12.
16. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 24, 26-7, p. 5.
17. *AJAA*, p. 2; also see *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 57, p. 12.
18. *OISJ*, p. 6.
19. *JI*, p. 16.
20. *ERE*, II, p. 187.

in the soul of man; he undertakes the teaching of righteousness, faith and insight.[21] The *jina* conquers his mind and passion through self-mortification; he emancipates himself from dependance upon the world and all its objects, animate and inanimate, and transcends his physical existence and bondage of *karma*.[22] He has infinite qualities; he is the conqueror of the world, and, he provides the ideal for those who desire salvation.[23]

The *tīrthaṁkaras* are guides[24] and spiritually great souls.[25] They are liberated souls who go up to the top of the universe and remain there for ever in the state of absolute perfection.[26] The Jainas are firm in their belief that each *tīrthaṁkara* is a separate individual — a perfect soul.[27] The *tīrthaṁkaras* keep their individual identity even after their liberation from physical integument.[28] When the *tīrthaṁkara* reaches the top end of the universe after leaving his physical body, he, like other liberated souls residing in that part of the universe, is called a *siddha*.[29] In the Jaina pantheon, even the gods and goddesses, many of whom have been adopted from Hinduism, are treated as subordinate to the *jinas*.[30] The idea of the relative superiority of the *jinas* has found manifestation in the Jaina iconography also; in the early Jaina sculptures the *tīrthaṁkaras* occupy practically the entire relief.[31]

Of the twenty-four *tīrthaṁkaras*, twenty-two have been ascribed to the Ikṣavāku dynasty of the kṣatriyas.[32] But Munisuvrata, the twentieth

21. *ERE*, II, p. 187.
22. *HOIC*, I, p. 163.
23. *CUHI*, I, p. 191.
24. *OJ*, Introduction, xxvii.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
26. *ERE*, II, p. 186.
27. *AJAA*, p. 3.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
30. *JI*, p. 37; *OISJ*, p. 61; *JIR*, p. 234.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8.
32. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *OISJ*, p. 65.

tīrthaṁkara, and Neminātha, the twenty-second *tīrthaṁkara*, are said to have belonged to the Harivaṁśa[33] or the Yādava[34] dynasty of the kṣatriyas. According to the Jaina tradition, nearly all *tīrthaṁkara*s received consecration at their native places, and all obtained *jñāna* or complete enlightenment at the same place.[35] The exceptions were — Ṛṣabha, who became a *kevalin* at Purimtāla,[36] Neminātha, who became a *kevalin* at Girnar,[37] and Mahāvīra, who became a *kevalin* at the bank of Ṛjupālikā river.[38] Twenty *tīrthaṁkaras* are said to have attained *mokṣa* at Samet Śikhara,[39] i.e., Pārśvanātha hill in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar.[40] Of the remaining four, Ṛṣabha attained *nirvāṇa* on *Aṣṭāpada* which is supposed to be Śatruñjaya in Gujarat,[41] Vāsupūjya at Campāpurī,[42] Neminātha on Mount Girnar,[43] and Mahāvīra at Pāvāpurī.[44] Twenty-one *tīrthaṁkara*s are said to have achieved *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture; but Ṛṣabha, Neminātha and Mahāvīra attained it in the *padmāsana* posture.[45] Ṛṣabha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra are the most favourite *tīrthaṁkara*s among the Jainas, but images and temples of other *tīrthaṁkara*s, too, are found in many parts of India.[46]

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33. *HP*, Editorial; *OISJ*, p. 65; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
34. *Ibid.*; *ACHI*, p. 100.
35. *OISJ*, pp. 65-6; *JI*, p. 30.
36. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 86; *JI*, p. 30.
37. *Ibid.*; *HP*, pp. 643-4; *JI*, p. 30.
38. *Ibid.*; *AAHI*, p. 85; *CHI*, I, p. 159.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 66; *JAA*, I, pp. 14-16; *JI*, p. 30.
40. *HGAI*, p. 249; *GD*, p. 176; *JI*, p. 30.
41. *OISJ*, p. 66.
42. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, pp. 14-16; *GEAMI*, I, p. 83; *GD*, p. 44.
43. *Ibid.*; *HP*, pp. 798-9.
44. *Ibid.*; *AOIU*, p. 415.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 66; *MCH*, p. 353.
46. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JI*, p. 17.

Jaina worship

The *tīrthaṁkaras* are liberated souls and they neither care for nor exercise influence on worldly affairs.[47] Yet, temples are erected to them[48] where the Jainas worship them in concrete form.[49] In fact, the Jainas consider the practice of image-worship of the *tīrthaṁkaras* as co-eval with the foundation of Jainism.[50] This seems to have started at an early time.[51] The discovery of a highly polished torso of a *jina* image from Lohanipur near Patna,[52] and a possible reference in the Hāthīgumphā inscription to the removal of a *jina* image from Kaliṅga to Pāṭaliputra by the Magadhan King Nanda at the time of his invasion of Kaliṅga,[53] prove that image-worship was certainly in vogue among the Jainas in the Maurya period.[54] An inscription discovered from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā[55] leaves us in no doubt that image-worship was an established custom among the Jainas as early as the second century BC.

Jainism does not believe in a Creator-God. It also holds that idol-worship is not essential for the attainment of salvation.[56] Therefore, the pertinent query is: What is the rationale of idol-worship in Jainism? The answer is not far to seek. The attitude of the Jaina devotee is expressed in the following quotation:

> Him who is the leader of the path to salvation, who is the dispeller of mountains of *karmas*, and who is the knower of all reality, Him I

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47. *ERE*, II, p. 186; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 187; *Ibid.*, p. 466; *IP*, p. 69.
49. *AJAA*, p. 50; *IP*, p. 69.
50. *AOIU*, p. 425.
51. *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 3; *SIJA*, p. 40; *AJAA*, pp. 50 ff.
52. *AOIU*, p. 425; *SIJA*, p. 5; *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 3.
53. *EI*, XX, pp. 71-89; *AOIU*, p. 426.
54. *AOIU*, p. 426; *SIJA*, p. 5.
55. *EI*, II, Inscription no. 1, pp. 198-9.
56. *AJAA*, p. 62.

worship in order that, I may realise these very qualities of His.[57]

In other words, it is not idol-worship; it is worship of an ideal. J.L. Jaini writes,

> The Jains worship the ideal and nothing but the ideal, namely, the soul in its perfect condition. . . .[58]

It is held that Jaina worship is not worship of a deity;[59] nor does it demand favours and escape from calamities.[60] It is worship of a perfect human being, of a soul that has freed itself from all bondage.[61] The Jainas maintain that the idol is not a partrait of the *jina*; on the contrary, it is a symbol of his qualities,[62] and by worshipping the idol of the *jina*, the Jaina devotee develops in his own self the aggregate of the qualities of the Perfect Man.[63]

Jaina scholars opine that image-worship was sanctioned and introduced in Jainism because the common Jaina devotee was already accustomed to worship of *yakṣa*s, *nāga*s, *bhūtas*, trees, rivers, etc.[64] Jainism made a beginning with worship of *stūpa*s, trees, *āyāga-paṭṭas*, etc., and this was followed by worship of the *pañca-parmeṣṭhin*s, i.e., the *tīrthaṁkara*s, the *siddha*s, the *ācārya*s, the *upādhyāya*s and the *sādhus*.[65] The *pañca-parmeṣṭhin*s represent various states of spiritual progress and sect-hierarchy, and this group represents objects of Jaina worship.[66] But worship of this group does not appear to have started up to the end of the first century AD.[67]

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57. *CUHI*, I, p. 191.
58. *OJ*, p. 75.
59. *AJAA*, p. 62.
60. *JAA*, I, p. 41.
61. *AJAA*, p. 62.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
63. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, II, p. 187; *JAA*, I, p. 41; *SIJA*, p. 39.
64. *AJAA*, p. 63.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 42; *ACHI*, p. 109.
67. *AJAA*, p. 63.

Real worship in Jainism, however, centres around the *tīrthaṁkaras* and the *siddhas*, especially the former.[68] Devotion to them is expressed through hymns, rituals and *pūjās* of various kinds.[69] In the hierarchy of Jainism, the *siddha* occupies the highest position after the *tīrthaṁkara*. The *siddha* is a liberated soul and is a resident of the top end of the universe; therefore, he is also worshipped as a deity.[70] The difference between the *tīrthaṁkara* and the *siddha* consists in the fact that the former has physical body and the latter does not possess that.[71]

The next three positions in the heirarchy of Jainism in order of merit are held by the *ācāryas*, the *upādhyāyas* and the *sādhus* respectively. In Jainism these three categories of ascetics are also worshipped because they follow the path of salvation and also provide guidance to the Jaina religious order.[72] The *ācāryas* are spiritual preceptors; the *upādhyāyas* impart canonical teachings and also undertake activities associated with spiritual engagements.[73] The *sādhus* are mendicants.[74] Jainism has adopted many gods and goddesses from the Hindu pantheon.[75] These Hindu deities, too, are worshipped because they are considered integral to the Jaina religious system.[76]

Introduction to the tīrthaṁkaras

The earliest reference to the twenty-four *tīrthaṁkaras* has been made in the *Samvāya*, the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Āvaśyaka Niryukti*.[77] A study of Jaina works like Hemcandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* reveals that the life of

68. *JAA*, I, p. 42.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *AJAA*, p. 4.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. *JI*, p. 37; *JIR*, p. 234; *AOIU*, p. 426; *OISJ*, p. 61.
76. *JI*, pp. 25-6.
77. *LDJC*, p. 371.

the twenty-four *tīrthaṁkara*s ran almost on identical lines.[78] All *tīrthaṁkara*s were born in kṣatriya royal families. All were averse to worldly life. All of them had very long lives, except Mahāvīra. Most of them ruled for long, and subsequently renounced the world as a result of illuminations. They practised asceticism and attained *mokṣa* after founding a community of disciples. Jainism believes in two *kalpa*s or cycles each of which has two eras named *avasarpiṇī* and *utsarpiṇī*; these two eras are divided into six ages or *kāla*s.[79] According to the Jaina works the *Samvāya*, the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Āyaśyaka Niryukti*, Ṛṣabha, the first *tīrthaṁkara*, was born in the third age, i.e., the period of happiness and sorrow, and the remaining twenty-three *tīrthaṁkara*s were born in the fourth age, i.e., the period of sorrow and happiness.[80]

Ṛṣabha — the first tīrthaṁkara

According to the Jaina tradition, Ṛṣabha, called Ṛṣabhanātha,[81] Ṛṣabhadeva,[82] Usabha,[83] Vṛṣabha,[84] Vṛṣabhanātha,[85] Ādinātha,[86] Ādiśvara Bhagvān,[87] was the first *jina* and the first *tīrthaṁkara*.[88] He was born in the third age (*susmādusmā*) or the period of happiness and sorrow[89] at Vinītanagar,[90] i.e., Ayodhya.[91] His father Nābhi and mother Marudevī were the king and the

78. See the volumes of Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, tr. into English by H.M. Johnson and published from Baroda.
79. *LDJC*, p. 371.
80. *Ibid.*, fn 2.
81. *JI*, p. 50; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
82. *OISJ*, p. 66.
83. *LDJC*, p. 371.
84. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *OISJ*, p. 66.
85. *JI*, p. 50.
86. *OISJ*, p. 66; *GD*, p. 14; *GEAMI*, I, p. 43; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
88. *LDJC*, p. 19.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 371 fn 2.
90. *OISJ*, p. 66; *JAA*, I, p. 14; *HGAI*, p. 67.
91. *LDJC*, p. 19; *GEAMI*, I, p. 43; *HGAI*, p. 67; *GD*, p. 14.

queen of Ayodhya.[92] According to the Jaina tradition, Ṛṣabha was the originator of agriculture, the ceremony of cremating the dead, building of the mounds, and the festivals in honour of Indra and the *nāgas*.[93] He is also said to have taught the arts of cooking, writing, pottery, painting and sculpture for the first time.[94]

According to the Jaina tradition, Ṛṣabha descended for incarnation from the heaven Sarvārthasiddha[95] and ruled for a very long time. His height was 500 poles and he lived for 8,400,000 *pūrva* years.[96] His complexion has been mentioned as golden.[97] Ṛṣabha became a *kevalin* (attained omniscience) at Purimtāla[98] under a banyan tree.[99] He devoted a considerable part of his life to asceticism and sermonising. His first *gaṇadhara* (leading disciple) and *āryā* (leader of female converts) were Puṇḍarīka and Brāhmī respectively.[100] Ṛṣabha attained *mokṣa* in the *padmāsana* posture[101] on Aṣṭāpada[102] which is supposed to be Śatruñjaya hill in Gujarat.[103]

Ajitanātha — the second tīrthaṁkara

Ajitanātha, the second *tīrthaṁkara*,[104] also called Ajitanātha Satparṇa,[105]

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92. *JPV*, p. 85; *LDJC*, p. 371.
93. *LDJC*, p. 19.
94. *Ibid.*
95. *OISJ*, p. 66.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *OISJ*, p. 66; *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
98. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7; *JPV*, p. 86.
99. *Ibid.*
100. *Ibid.*
101. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
102. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 86.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 67; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
105. *JI*, p. 52.

was born at Vinītā.[106] His father Jitaśatru was the king of Vinītā (Ayodhya) and his mother's name was Vijayā Devī.[107] According to the Jaina belief, Ajitanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Vijayavimāna.[108] He married at the insistence of his father and lived a happy married life.[109] He renounced the world after ruling for long and resorted to a life of asceticism.[110] He attained enlightenment (*bodhi*) under a *śāla* tree[111] at Ayodhya[112] after twelve years' hard penance.[113]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 450 poles and he lived for 7,200,000 *pūrva* (great) years.[114] His complexion has been described as golden.[115] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Siṁhasena and Phālgū respectively.[116] Ajitanātha attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[117] on Samet Śikhara.[118] Pārśvanātha hill (Samet Śikhara) is situated in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar.[119] It stands in a dense forest infested with wild animals and is the second highest mountain south of the Himalayas.[120] It is frequently visited by the Jainas from all parts of India.[121] There is a Digambara Jaina temple at the top of this hill and some Śvetāmbara Jaina temples at its foot.[122]

106. *TSPC*, II, p. 28; *HGAI*, p. 67.
107. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-9; *JPV*, p. 95.
108. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
109. *TSPC*, II, p. 73.
110. *Ibid.*, pp. 89-91.
111. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
112. *JPV*, pp. 95-6.
113. *Ibid.*
114. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
115. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
116. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
118. *TSPC*, II, pp. 219-20; *OISJ*, p. 66; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
119. *HGAI*, p. 249; *GD*, p. 176.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
121. *Ibid.*
122. *Ibid.*

Sambhavanātha — the third tīrthaṁkara

Sambhavanātha, the third *tīrthaṁkara*, was born at Śrāvastī,[123] which is Sahet-Mahet in Gonda-Bahraich district of Uttar Predesh.[124] His father Jitāri was the king of Śrāvastī and his mother's name was Senā Devī[125] or Suṣenā.[126] According to the Jaina tradition, Sambhavanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Uvarimagraiveka.[127] His childhood was full of pleasure.[128] He ascended the throne at his father's behest and ruled like a benevolent king.[129] Subsequently, he renounced his throne and lived the life of an ascetic and preacher.[130] He attained omniscience under a *śāla* tree[131] at Śrāvastī[132] after fourteen years' hard penance.[133]

According to the Jaina tradition, Sambhavanātha's height was 400 poles and he lived for 6,000,000 *pūrva* years.[134] His complexion has been described as golden.[135] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Cāru and Śyāmā respectively.[136] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[137] at Samet Śikhara.[138]

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123. *TSPC*, II, pp. 232-4; *JI*, p. 54; *OISJ*, pp. 66-7; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
124. *HGAI*, p. 124.
125. *TSPC*, II, pp. 232-4; *JPV*, p. 97.
126. *JPV*, p. 97; *JI*, p. 54.
127. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
128. *TSPC*, II, p. 240.
129. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-2.
130. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-52.
131. *JPV*, p. 97.
132. *Ibid.*
133. *Ibid.*
134. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
135. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
136. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
138. *TSPC*, II, pp. 252-3; *JPV*, p. 97; *JAA*, I, p. 14.

Abhinandananātha — the fourth tīrthaṁkara

Abhinandananātha, the fourth *tīrthaṁkara*, was born at Ayodhya.[139] His father Saṁvara was the king of Ayodhya and his mother's name was Siddhārathā.[140] According the Jaina tradition, Abhinandananātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Jayantavimāna.[141] He lived a happy married life and ruled like a noble king.[142] Subsequently, he renounced the throne and took to asceticism.[143] He became a *kevalin* under a *śāla* tree[144] at Ayodhya after hard penance.[145]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 350 poles and he lived for 5,000,000 *pūrva* years.[146] His complexion has been described as golden.[147] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Vajranābha and Ajitā respectively.[148] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[149] on Pārśvanātha hill.[150]

Sumatinātha — the fifth tīrthaṁkara

Sumatinātha, the fifth *tīrthaṁkara*, was born at Ayodhya.[151] His father Megha was the king of Ayodhya and his mother's name was Maṅgalā.[152] According to the Jaina tradition, Sumati descended for incarnation from the

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139. *TSPC*, II, pp. 255-7; *JI*, p. 56; *HGAI*, p. 67.
140. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-6; *JPV*, p. 98.
141. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
142. *TSPC*, II, p. 261.
143. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-3.
144 *JPV*, p. 98.
145. *Ibid.*
146. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
147. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
148. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.
149. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
150. *Ibid.*; *TSPC*, II, pp. 266-7.
151. *TSPC*, II, p. 277; *HGAI*, p. 67.
152. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-81; *JI*, p. 58; *JPV*, p. 99.

heaven Jayantavimāna.[153] He married at his father's behest and lived a happy married life.[154] Subsequently, he renounced kingship and resorted to a life of asceticism. He became a *kevalin* under a *priyaṅgu* tree at Ayodhya after twenty years of hard penance.[155]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 300 poles and he lived for 4,000,000 *pūrva* years.[156] His complexion has been described as golden.[157] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Carama and Kāśyapī respec-tively.[158] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[159] on Samet Śikhāra.[160]

Padmaprabhanātha — the sixth tīrthaṁkara

Padmaprabhanātha, the sixth *tīrthaṁkara*, was born at Kauśāmbī.[161] His father Dhara[162] or Dharaṇa[163] or Śrīdhara[164] was the king of Kauśāmbī[165] and his mother's name was Susīmā.[166] According to the Jaina tradition, Padmaprabhanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Uvarīmagraiveka.[167] He married at the behest of his father and ruled for long. Subsequently, he renounced the throne and took to a life of asceticism.[168] He

153. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
154. *TSPC*, II, pp. 282-3.
155. *JPV*, p. 99.
156. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
157. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
158. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-7.
159. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
160. *TSPC*, II, p. 287; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
161. *Ibid.*, pp. 289-92; *JI*, p. 59; *HGAI*, p. 99.
162. *TSPC*, II, pp. 289-90; *JPV*, p. 100.
163. *JPV*, p. 100.
164. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
165. *TSPC*, pp. 289-90; *JPV*, p. 100.
166. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, p. 100; *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
167. *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
168. *TSPC*, II, pp. 292-302.

became a *kevalin* under a *priyaṅgu* tree at Kauśāmbī after hard penance for six months.[169]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 250 poles and he lived for 3,000,000 *pūrva* years.[170] His complexion has been described as red.[171] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Pradyotna and Rati respectively.[172] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[173] at Samet Śikhara.[174]

Supārśvanātha — the seventh tīrthaṁkara

Supārśvanātha, the seventh *tīrthaṁkara*, was born at Vārāṇasī.[175] His father Supratiṣṭha[176] or Pratiṣṭha[177] was the king of Vārāṇasī and his mother's name was Pṛthvī.[178] According to the Jaina tradition, Supārśvanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Madhyamagraiveka.[179] He married at the behest of his father and lived a happy married life. He ruled for long, and subsequently abdicated his throne to live a life of asceticism.[180] He became a *kevalin* under a *sirīśa* or a *priyaṅgu* tree at Vārāṇasī after hard penance for nine months.[181]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 200 poles and he lived for

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169. *JPV*, p. 100.
170. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
171. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-8; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
172. *Ibid.*
173. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
174. *TSPC*, II, pp. 302-3.
175. *Ibid.*, pp. 305-6; *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
176. *JPV*, p. 100.
177. *Ibid.*; *TSPC*, II, pp. 305-6.
178. *TSPC*, II, pp. 305-6.
179. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
180. *TSPC*, II, pp. 308-12.
181. *JPV*, p. 100.

2,000,000 *pūrva* years.[182] His complexion has been described as golden[183] or emerald coloured.[184] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Vidirbha and Somā respectively.[185] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[186] on Samet Śikhara.[187]

Candraprabha — the eighth tīrthaṁkara

Candraprabhanātha, the eighth *tīrthaṁkara*, was born at Śrāvastī[188] which was called Candrapurī[189] or Candrikapurī by the Jainas.[190] His father Mahāsena was the king of Candrapurī[191] and his mother's name was Lakṣmaṇā[192] or Lakṣmī Devī.[193] According to the Jaina tradition, Candraprabhanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Vijayanta.[194] He ruled for long and later abdicated his throne to concentrate on a life of asceticism.[195] He became a *kevalin* under a *priyaṅgu*[196] or a *nāga* tree[197] at Candrapurī after penance for three months.[198]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 150 poles and he lived for

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182. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
183. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
184. *Ibid.*, p. 68 fn 3.
185. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-8.
186. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
187. *JPV*, p. 100; *TSPC*, II, pp. 312-13.
188. *HGAI*, p. 125; *GD*, p. 190.
189. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, pp. 189-90.
190. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
191. *JPV*, p. 102.
192. *Ibid.*; *TSPC*, II, pp. 315-16.
193. *JPV*, p. 102.
194. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
195. *TSPC*, II, pp. 318-22.
196. *JPV*, p. 103.
197. *Ibid.*; *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
198. *JPV*, p. 103.

1,000,000 *pūrva* years.[199] His complexion has been mentioned as white.[200] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Dinna and Sumanā respectively.[201] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[202] on Samet Śikhara.[203]

Suvidhinātha — the ninth tīrthaṁkara

Suvidhinātha,[204] the ninth *tīrthaṁkara*, also called Puṣpadanta,[205] was born at Kākandinagar.[206] His father Sugrīva was the king of Kākandinagar and his mother's name was Rāmā.[207] His parents gave him two names, i.e., Suvidhi and Puṣpadanta.[208] According to the Jaina tradition, Suvidhinātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Anantadevaloka.[209] He ruled for long and abdicated his throne to have recourse to a life of asceticism.[210] He attained omniscience under a tree at Kākandinagar after practising penance for four months.[211]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 100 poles and he lived for 200,000 *pūrva* years.[212] His complexion has been mentioned as white.[213] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Varāhaka and Vāruṇī respectively.[214] He

199. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
200. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
201. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
202. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
203. *TSPC*, II, pp. 322-3; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
204. *OISJ*, p. 68; *GD*, p. 190.
205. *Ibid.*; *TSPC*, II, p. 327; *JPV*, p. 104; *GD*, p. 190.
206. *TSPC*, II, pp. 325-6; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
207. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 104.
208. *Ibid.*, p. 327.
209. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
210. *TSPC*, II, pp. 329-34.
211. *JPV*, p. 104.
212. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
213. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
214. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.

attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[215] on Samet Śikhara.[216]

Śītalanātha — the tenth tīrthaṁkara

Śītalanātha, the tenth *tīrthaṁkara*, was born at Bhadrilapur[217] or Bhadrapur.[218] His father Dṛḍhratha was the king of Bhadrilapur and his mother's name was Nandā.[219] According to the Jaina tradition, Śītalanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Acyutadevaloka.[220] He lived a happy married life and ruled for long.[221] Subsequently, he resorted to a life of asceticism.[222] He became a *kevalin* under a *priyaṅgu* tree[223] after undertaking penance for three months.[224]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 90 poles and he lived for 100,000 *pūrva* years.[225] His complexion has been mentioned as golden.[226] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Nanda and Sujasā respectively.[227] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[228] on Samet Śikhara.[229]

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215. *OISJ*, p. 66.
216. *JPV*, p. 104; *TSPC*, II, p. 335.
217. *TSPC*, II, pp. 337-9.
218. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
219. *TSPC*, II, pp. 337-9; *JPV*, p. 105.
220. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
221. *TSPC*, II, pp. 340-1.
222. *Ibid.*, pp. 342-5.
223. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
224. *JPV*, p. 105.
225. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
226. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
227. *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
228. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
229. *TSPC*, II, p. 346; *JAA*, I, p. 15.

Śreyāṁśanātha — the eleventh tīrthaṁkara

Śreyāṁśanātha,[230] the eleventh *tīrthaṁkara*, also called Śreyasa,[231] was born at Siṁhapura,[232] which is now called Sarnatha.[233] At Sarnatha near Vārāṇasī there is a Jaina temple dedicated to him.[234] Hira Lal Jain is of opinion that Sarnatha derived its name from Śreyāṁśanātha.[235] His father Viṣṇurāja was the king of Siṁhapura or Siṁhapurī[236] and his mother's name was Viṣṇu Devī.[237] According to the Jaina tradition, Śreyāṁśanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Acyutadevaloka.[238] He ruled for long and abdicated his throne to pursue asceticism.[239] He became a *kevalin* under a *tinduka* tree at Siṁhapurī after performing penance for two months.[240]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 80 poles and he lived for 8,400,000 common years.[241] His complexion has been mentioned as golden.[242] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Kaśyapa and Dhāraṇī respectively.[243] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[244] on Samet Śikhara.[245]

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230. *JAA*, I, p. 15.
231. *OISJ*, p. 69.
232. *TSPC*, III, pp. 2-3.
233. *CUHI*, I, p. 220.
234. *Ibid.*, I, p. 220.
235. *Ibid.*
236. *TSPC*, III, pp. 2-3; *JPV*, p. 105.
237. *JPV*, p. 105.
238. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
239. *TSPC*, III, pp. 7-60.
240. *JPV*, p. 105.
241. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
242. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
243. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-9.
244. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
245. *TSPC*, III, p. 60.

Vāsupūjya — the twelfth tīrthaṁkara

Vāsupūjya, the twelfth *tīrthaṁkara*, was born at Campā.[246] His father Vasupūjya was the king of Campā and his mother's name was Jayā[247] or Vijayā.[248] According to the Jaina tradition, Vāsupūjya descended for incarnation from the heaven Prānatadevaloka.[249] He remained celibate and also rejected kingship.[250] He led the life of an ascetic[251] and became a *kevalin* under a *pāṭala* tree[252] at Campā.[253]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 70 poles and he lived for 7,200,000 common years.[254] His complexion has been mentioned as red.[255] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Subhuma and Dharaṇī respectively.[256] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[257] at Campā.[258]

Vimalanātha — the thirteenth tīrthaṁkara

Vimalanātha, the thirteenth *tīrthaṁkara*, was born at Kāmpilya,[259] which is now called Kampil,[260] a place in the Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh.[261]

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246. *HGAI*, p. 205; *GD*, p. 44; *GEAMI*, I, p. 83.
247. *TSPC*, III, pp. 65-6; *JPV*, p. 105; *GD*, p. 44.
248 *JPV*, p. 105.
249. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
250. *JPV*, pp. 105-6.
251. *TSPC*, III, pp. 66-90.
252. *JPV*, p. 106; *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
253. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
254. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
255. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
256. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-9.
257. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
258. *HGAI*, p. 205; *JPV*, p. 106; *TSPC*, III, p. 90; *GD*, p. 44; *GEAMI*, I, p. 83.
259. *TSPC*, III, pp. 93-4.
260. *JPV*, p. 106.
261. *AGI*, p. 41; *GD*, p. 88; *HGAI*, p. 92.

His father Kṛtavarman was the king of Kāmpilya and his mother's name was Śyāmā.[262] According to the Jaina tradition, Vimalanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Mahāsāradevaloka.[263] He married at his father's behest and ruled for long.[264] Subsequently, he adopted the life of an ascetic.[265] He became a *kevalin* under a *jambū* tree[266] at Kāmpilya after penance for two years.[267]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 60 poles and he lived for 6,000,000 common years.[268] His complexion has been mentioned as golden.[269] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Mandara and Dharā respectively.[270] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[271] on Samet Śikhara.[272]

Anantanātha — the fourteenth tīrthaṁkara

Anantanātha, the fourteenth *tīrthaṁkara*, was born at Ayodhya.[273] His father Siṁhasena was the king of Ayodhya[274] and his mother's name was Suyaśā[275] or Sarvayaśā[276] or Suryaśas.[277] According to the Jaina tradition,

262. *TSPC*, III, pp. 93-4; *JPV*, p. 106.
263. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
264. *TSPC*, III, p. 95.
265. *Ibid.*, pp. 104-8.
266. *JPV*, p. 106; *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
267. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
268. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
269. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
270. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-69.
271. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
272. *TSPC*, III, p. 108; *JPV*, p. 106.
273. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9; *HGAI*, p. 67.
274. *TSPC*, III, pp. 111-12; *JPV*, p. 107.
275. *JPV*, p. 107.
276. *Ibid.*
277. *TSPC*, III, pp. 111-12.

Anantanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Prāṇatadevaloka.[278] He married due to his father's command and ruled for long.[279] Thereafter, he resorted to a life of asceticism.[280] He became a *kevalin* under an *aśoka*[281] or *pīpal* tree[282] at Ayodhyā after penance for three years.[283]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 50 poles and he lived for 3,000,000 common years.[284] His complexion has been described as golden. His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Jasa and Padmā respectively.[285] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[286] on Samet Śikhara.[287] Anantanātha is also called Anantjit.[288]

Dharmanātha — the fifteenth tīrthaṁkara

Dharmanātha, the fifteenth *tīrthaṁkara*, was born at Ratnapura[289] or Ratnapurī.[290] His father Bhānu was the king of Ratnapura and his mother's name was Suvratā.[291] According to the Jaina tradition, Dharmanātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Vijayavimāna.[292] He married due to the insistence of his parents and ruled for long.[293] Subsequently, he led the

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278. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
279. *TSPC*, III, p. 113.
280. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-32.
281. *JPV*, p. 107; *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
282. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
283. *Ibid.*
284. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
285. *Ibid.*
286. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
287. *TSPC*, III, p. 133; *JPV*, p. 107.
288. *Ibid.*, p. 113; *OISJ*, p. 69.
289. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 135-6.
290. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
291. *TSPC*, III, pp. 135-36; *JPV*, p. 107.
292. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
293. *TSPC*, III, p. 137.

life of an ascetic for long. He became a *kevalin* under a *dadhiparṇa* tree[294] at Ratnapura after undertaking penance for two years.[295]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 45 poles and he lived for 1,000,000 common years.[296] His complexion has been described as golden.[297] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Ariṣṭa and Ārthaśivā respectively.[298] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[299] on Samet Śikhara.[300]

Śāntinātha — the sixteenth tīrthaṁkara

Śāntinātha was the sixteenth *tīrthaṁkara*. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, he was born at Gajapura; but the Digambara tradition holds that he was born at Hastinapura.[301] His father Viśvasena was the king of Hastinapura and his mother's name was Acirā.[302] According to the Jaina tradition, Śāntinātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Sarvārthasiddha.[303] He led a happy married life and ruled for long. According to the Jaina tradition, Śāntinātha was a *cakravartin* who ruled the whole of India for 25,000 years.[304] Subsequently, he took to asceticism. He became a *kevalin* under a *nandī* tree[305] at Hastinapura after one year's hard penance.[306]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 40 poles and he lived for

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294. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9; *JPV*, p. 107.
295. *JPV*, p. 107.
296. *OISJ*, pp. 66-9.
297. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
298. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-70.
299. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
300. *TSPC*, III, p. 161; *JPV*, p. 107.
301. *JAA*, I, p. 15.
302. *TSPC*, III, pp. 299-302; *JPV*, p. 108.
303. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.
304. *JPV*, p. 108.
305. *Ibid.*; *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.
306. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

100,000 common years.[307] His complexion has been described as golden.[308] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Cakrayuddha and Śuci respectively.[309] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[310] at Samet Śikhara.[311]

Kunthunātha — the seventeenth tīrthaṁkara

According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Kunthunātha, the seventeenth *tīrthaṁkara*, was born at Gajapura; but the Digambara tradition holds that he was born at Hastinapura.[312] His father Śūra[313] or Vasu[314] or Sūryasena[315] was the king of Hastinapura[316], and his mother's name was Śrī[317] or Śrī Devī.[318] According to the Jaina tradition, Kunthunātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Sarvārthasiddha.[319] He married at the insistence of his father and ruled for long. Thereafter, he took to asceticism. He became a *kevalin* under a *tilaka* tree at Gajapura after undertaking penance for sixteen years.[320]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 35 poles and he lived for 95,000 common years.[321] His complexion has been described as golden.[322] His

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307. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.
308. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
309. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-70.
310. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
311. *TSPC*, III, p. 335; *JPV*, p. 108.
312. *JAA*, I, p. 15.
313. *TSPC*, IV, pp. 1-2.
314. *JPV*, p. 112.
315. *Ibid.*
316. *Ibid.*; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 1-2.
317. *TSPC*, IV, pp. 1-2.
318. *JPV*, p. 112.
319. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.
320. *JPV*, p. 112.
321. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.
322. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Sāmba and Dāminī respectively.[323] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[324] on Samet Śikhara.[325]

Aranātha — the eighteenth tīrthaṁkara

According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Aranātha, the eighteenth *tīrthaṁkara*, was born at Gajapura; but the Digambara tradition holds that he was born at Hastinapura.[326] His father Sudarśana was the king of Hastinapura[327], and his mother's name was Devī[328] or Mahādevī[329] or Mittrā.[330] According to the Jaina tradition, Aranātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Sarvārthasiddha.[331] He married at the insistence of his father[332] and ruled for long as a *cakravartin*.[333] Subsequently, he abdicated the throne to live the life of an ascetic. He became a *kevalin* under a mango tree[334] at Gajapura after undergoing hard penance for three years.[335]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 30 poles and he lived for 84,000 common years.[336] His complexion has been described as golden.[337] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Kumbha and Rakṣitā respectively.[338] He

323. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.
324. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
325. *TSPC*, IV, p. 10; *JPV*, p. 112.
326. *JAA*, I, p. 15.
327. *JPV*, p. 113; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 12-13.
328. *TSPC*, IV, pp. 12-13.
329. *JPV*, p. 113.
330. *Ibid.*
331. *OISJ*, PP. 66-70.
332. *TSPC*, IV, p. 14.
333. *JPV*, p. 113; *TSPC*, IV, p. 14.
334. *Ibid.*; *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.
335. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
336. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.
337. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
338. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-70.

attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[339] on Samet Śikhara.[340]

Malli — the nineteenth tīrthaṁkara

According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Malli, the nineteenth *tīrthaṁkara*, was a woman.[341] But according to the Digmbara tradition, Malli was a male.[342] The Digambaras hold that a woman cannot achieve *mokṣa* and they name this *tīrthaṁkara* as Mallinātha.[343] The Digambara view seems to have been accepted in iconography because the images of Malli do not have feminine features.[344] According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Malli remained celibate and attained *kaivalya* on the day of her consecration itself.[345] Mallinātha's father Kumbha was the king of Mithilā and his mother's name was Prabhāvatī.[346] According to the Jaina tradition, Malli descended for incarnation from the heaven Jayantadevaloka.[347]

According to the Jaina tradition, Mallinātha's height was 25 poles and he lived for 55,000 common years.[348] His complexion has been described as blue.[349] Malli became a *kevalin* under an *aśoka* tree.[350] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Abhikṣaka and Bandhumatī respectively.[351] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[352] on Samet Śikhara.[353]

339. *OISJ*, p. 66.
340. *JAA*, I, p. 15.
341. *Ibid.*, p. 15 fn. 1; *JPV*, p. 113; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 54-5.
342. *Ibid.*, p. 16 fn; *Ibid.*, p. 113.
343. *Ibid.*, *ibid.*
344. *JI*, p. 77.
345. *JPV*, p. 113.
346. *Ibid.*; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 53-4.
347. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.
348. *Ibid.*
349. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
350. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.
351. *Ibid.*
352. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
353. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *TSPC*, IV, p. 71.

Munisuvṛata — the twentieth tīrthaṁkara

Munisuvṛata, the twentieth *tīrthaṁkara*, was born at Rājagṛha.[354] According to the Jaina tradition, Munisuvṛata was a contemporary of Rāma Dāśarathī.[355] His father Sumitra[356], who belonged to the Harivaṁśa dynasty of the kṣatriyas[357], was the king of Rājagṛha, and his mother's name was Padmāvatī.[358] According to the Jaina tradition, Munisuvṛata descended for incarnation from the heaven Aparājitadevaloka.[359] He renounced the throne after a long period of kingship and took to asceticism. He became a *kevalin* under a *campaka* tree[360] at Rājagṛha after undergoing hard penance for eleven months.[361]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 20 poles and he lived for 30,000 common years.[362] His complexion has been mentioned as black.[363] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Malli and Puṣpavatī respectively.[364] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[365] on Samet Śikhara.[366]

Naminātha — the twenty-first tīrthaṁkara

Naminātha, the twenty-first *tīrthaṁkara*, also called Nimi or Nimeśvara,[367]

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354. *JAA*, I, p. 16; *OISJ*, pp. 66-70; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 79-80.
355. *JPV*, p. 114; *JOLR*, p. 28; *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 7.
356. *Ibid.*, p. 114; *OISJ*, pp. 66-70; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 79-80.
357. *TSPC*, IV, pp. 79-80; *OISJ*, p. 65.
358. *JPV*, p. 114; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 79-80.
359. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.
360. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-70; *JPV*, p. 114.
361. *JPV*, p. 114.
362. *OISJ*, pp. 66-70.
363. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
364. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.
365. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
366. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
367. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

was born at Mithilā.[368] But according to another tradition he was born at Mathurā.[369] His father Vijaya was the king of Mithilā and his mother's name was Vaprā[370] or Viprītā.[371] According to the Jaina tradition, Naminātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Prāṇatadevaloka.[372] He ruled for long and subsequently took to a life of asceticism. He became a *kevalin* under a *bakula*[373] or *jambū* tree[374] at Mithilā after undergoing penance for nine months.[375]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 15 poles and he lived for 10,000 common years.[376] His complexion has been mentioned as golden.[377] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Śubha and Anilā respectively.[378] He attained *mokṣa* in the *kāyotsarga* posture[379] on Samet Śikhara.[380]

Neminātha — the twenty-second tīrthaṁkara

Neminātha, the twenty-second *tīrthaṁkara*, also called Ariṣṭanemi,[381] belonged to the Harivaṁśa[382] or the Yādava[383] dynasty of the kṣatriyas and was the cousin of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa[384] of *Mahābhārata* fame. Neminātha was born at

368. *JI*, p. 79; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 353-4.
369. *Ibid.*, p. 80; *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.
370. *JPV*, p. 114; *TSPC*, IV, pp. 353-4.
371. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
372. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.
373. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 116.
374. *JPV*, p. 116.
375. *Ibid.*
376. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.
377. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
378. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.
379. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
380. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
381. *Ibid.*, p. 71; *Ibid.*
382. *Ibid.*, p. 65; *HP*, Editorial; *JAA*, I, p. 50.
383. *HP*, Editorial; *CUHI*, I, p. 220.
384. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 50.

Śauripura[385] or Śauryapura.[386] His father Samudravijaya was the king of Dwaraka[387], and his mother's name was Śivā Devī.[388] According to the Jaina tradition, Neminātha descended for incarnation from the heaven Aparājitadevaloka.[389] Animal-slaughter for the marriage feast grieved him and he decided to remain celibate.[390] He took to asceticism and became a *kevalin* under a *vetasa* tree[391] after undergoing penance for fifty-six days.[392]

According to the Jaina tradition, his height was 10 poles and he lived for 1,000 common years.[393] His complexion has been mentioned as black.[394] His first *gaṇadhara* and *āryā* were Varadatta and Yakṣadinnā respectively.[395] He attained *mokṣa* in the *padmāsana* posture[396] on Mount Girnar.[397]

To the life of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthaṁkara*, and Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth *tīrthaṁkara*, we shall turn in the next chapter.

Antiquity of Jainism

Very few subjects have generated as much discussion among scholars as the antiquity of Jainism. Broadly speaking, there are three schools of thought regarding its antiquity. According to the Jaina tradition, Ṛṣabha was the first *jina* and the first *tīrthaṁkara*,[398] and was born more than one hundred billion

385. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71; *HP*, pp. 478-82; *JAA*, I, p. 50.
386. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
387. *JPV*, p. 117; *JI*, p. 81.
388. *Ibid.*; *OISJ*, pp. 66-71; *HP*, pp. 478-82.
389. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.
390. *JPV*, p. 117; *JAA*, I, p. 17; *HP*, pp. 616-34.
391. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.
392. *HP*, p. 644.
393. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.
394. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
395. *OISJ*, pp. 66-71.
396. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
397. *Ibid.*, p. 66; *JAA*, I, p. 17; *HP*, pp. 644-5.
398. *LDJC*, p. 19.

oceans of years ago.[399] The Jaina tradition also holds that Ṛṣabha lived for two million *pūrva* (great) years as a prince and six million three thousand *pūrva* years as a king.[400] According to the second school of thought, Jainism was founded by Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthaṁkara*, 'who lived in the ninth-eighth century BC'.[401] According to the third school of thought, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth *tīrthaṁkara*, 'who lived in the sixth century BC',[402] was the founder of Jainism,[403] and this view persists in some quarters.[404]

An overwhelming majority of historians doubt the historicity of the first twenty-two *tīrthaṁkaras*. Their arguments are as follows:

1. There is no historical evidence regarding the existence of the first twenty-two *tīrthaṁkaras*;[405] they, therefore, belong to mythology rather than to history.[406]

2. The number of Jaina *tīrthaṁkaras* is not original;[407] it is canonically the same as given by the Hindus and Buddhists for their respective incarnations.[408]

3. The first twenty-two *tīrthaṁkaras* were legendary figures who were probably introduced to balance the number of the *jinas* with the number of the Buddhas.[409]

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399. *OISJ*, p. 7.
400. *HJM*, p. 57.
401. *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JOLR*, p. 14.
402. *GD*, p. 108; *JSAI*, pp. 32 ff.
403. *CHI*, I, p. 153; *AI (M)*, p. 167; *IP*, p. 69; *EWA*, VIII, p. 786; A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, 1954, p. 287.
404. *JOLR*, Preface, i.
405. *JSS*, p. 9; *LDJC*, p. 19.
406. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
407. *JI*, p. 36.
408. *Ibid.*; *OISJ*, p. 8.
409. *LDJC*, p. 19.

4. Brāhmaṇical ideas may have given rise to the doctrine of twenty-five Buddhas and twenty-four *jinas*, and these are later additions in Buddhism and Jainism.[410]

5. The long duration of the careers of the first twenty-two *tīrthaṁkaras* and the intermediate periods between them as embodied in the Jaina tradition are unbelievable and unimaginable.[411]

6. The tale that the period of the first twenty-two *tīrthaṁkaras* covered millions of years before Christ is unacceptable to modern historians.[412] S.B. Deo writes,

   > . . . it is not possible to accept the historicity of these twenty-two *tīrthaṁkaras*, for the distances between them as well as their longevity is not only given in unbelievable numbers, but also in a descending sequence which gives the whole an appearance of a deliberate planning of mythology rather than of a sound historical chronology.[413]

   For instance, it is held that Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthaṁkara*, lived 84,000 years after the death of the twenty-second *tīrthaṁkara*.[414]

7. Jaina scholars refer to names from the Vedas which are identical with the names of some *jinas*; but it may be said that these are the names of Vedic *ṛṣis*.[415]

8. There is a reference to a person named Ṛṣabha in the Brāhmaṇical literature. But he cannot be identified with the Jaina *tīrthaṁkara* of the same name, because according to the Jaina tradition '*tīrthaṁkara*

410. *OISJ*, p. 8.
411. *JAA*, I, p. 14 fn 1; *JI*, p. 36; *OISJ*, p. 7; *CHI*, I, p. 153.
412. *SIJA*, pp. 3-4.
413. *HJM*, pp. 59-60.
414. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
415. *JI*, p. 36.

Ṛṣabha lived millions and millions years ago'.[416]

9. The historicity of early *tīrthaṁkara*s cannot be proved from the non-Jaina literary records of the second millennium BC.[417]

These arguments are extremely potent. But it would be unfair to view the first twenty-two *tīrthaṁkara*s as imaginary persons. The Jainas wrote the Purāṇa about the life of Ṛṣabha and the Uttarapurāṇa about the life of other *jina*s.[418] These works were written to reveal the lives of the *jina*s to the followers of Jainism. It is difficult to believe that this vast literature which was produced to unfold information about the *jina*s dealt with imaginary persons.[419] The period and the height assigned to these *tīrthaṁkara*s are, undoubtedly, extremely exaggerated and unbelievable. But these should be viewed in a literal and not figurative sense. The enormous length of time and the height assigned to the *jina*s, were, probably suggestive of the hoary antiquity of Jainism and super human features of these pontiffs.[420]

We make a start with the historicity of Ṛṣabha whom the Jainas regard as the first of the *tīrthaṁkara*s. Details of Ṛṣabha's life are embodied in both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara literature. *Ādi Purāṇa* of the Digambaras and two Śvetāmbara works — Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra* and Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* — contain an account of Ṛṣabha's life.[421] The Jaina texts *Samavāya* and *Āvaśayka Niryukti* also contain a reference to Ṛṣabha.[422] Ṛṣabha's name occurs in the Brāhmaṇical literature also. The Vedas make a mention of Ṛṣabha,[423] and some scholars opine that this person is none other than the Jaina *tīrthaṁkara* Ṛṣabha.[424]

416. *OISJ*, p. 7; *HJM*, p. 57.
417. *JI*, p. 36.
418. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
419. *Ibid.*
420. *JAA*, I, p. 14 fn 1.
421. *JI*, p. 50.
422. *LDJC*, p. 371.
423. *JAA*, I, Preface, vii; *JOLR*, pp. 41-2; *CUHI*, I, p. 185.
424. *Ibid.*, *CUHI*, I, p. 185.

The story of Ṛṣabha also occurs in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[425] and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.[426] In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[427] and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[428] he is mentioned as an incarnation of Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa.[429] Ṛṣabha's story as given in these works is identical with his story as given in the Jaina sacred literature.[430] These Purāṇas mention Ṛṣabha as a great ascetic or *tapasvī*.[431] The description of ascetic Ṛṣabha embodied in these Purāṇas is closely identical with the ascetic discipline prescribed for a *tapasvī* or ascetic in the Jaina literature.[432]

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* make a mention of Ṛṣabha who used to wander naked and desisted from religious rites.[433] This description compares favourably with the Jaina account of the first *tīrthaṁkara* Ṛṣabha.[434] In fact, the recorded traditions about Ṛṣabha are so varied, and his images, particularly those belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, are so abundant that it seems difficult to deny his historical existence.[435] Even Hermann Jacobi, who clearly doubted the historicity of the first twenty-two *tīrthaṁkaras*,[436] opined that there may be something historical in the Jaina tradition which makes Ṛṣabha the first *tīrthaṁkara*.[437]

The Brāhmaṇical texts, although some of them belong to a later period,

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425. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 5, 3-6; *HJM*, p. 39; *JI*, p. 50; *CUHI*, I, p. 185.
426. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, tr. H.H. Wilson, vol. I, 1980, pp. 245-7; *HJM*, p. 39; *CUHI*, I, p. 185.
427. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 5, 3-6; *JI*, p. 50; *CUHI*, I, p. 185.
428. *CUHI*, I, p. 185.
429. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
430. *Ibid.*; *HJM*, p. 58.
431. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 5, 3-6; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *op, cit.*, pp. 245-6; *CUHI*, I, p. 185.
432. *CUHI*, I, p. 185.
433. See *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *op. cit.*, p. 246 and fn; *ACHI*, p. 100.
434. *CUHI*, I, p. 185.
435. *JI*, p. 37.
436. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
437. Jacobi cited in *JOLR*, p. 40.

make a mention of some other *jinas* also. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* makes a mention of Sumati,[438] the fifth Jaina *tīrthaṁkara*, and calls him the son of Bharata,[439] who was the son of Ṛṣabha.[440] The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* adds that this Sumati will be 'irreligiously worshipped by some infidels as a divinity'.[441] There is some similarity in the Brāhmaṇical and Jaina accounts of Sumati.[442] But it is also important to note that according to the Jaina texts, *tīrthaṁkara* Sumati was the son of Megha.[443]

The names of Ajita, the second *tīrthaṁkara*, and Supārśva, the seventh *tīrthaṁkara*, also seem to find mention in the Vedas.[444] According to some scholars — K.P. Jain,[445] Hira Lal Jain,[446] Jyoti Prasad Jain,[447] N.N. Basu,[448] Fuhrer,[449] L.D. Barnett,[450] H.S. Bhattacharya[451] and P. Banerjee[452] — Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi, the twenty-second *tīrthaṁkara*, was a historical person. P. Banerji writes,

> Though nothing can be said definitely about the historicity of the early *tīrthaṁkaras*, yet there can hardly be any doubt that

438. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 5, 15; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa, op. cit.*, p. 246 and notes.
439. *Ibid.*, 5, 15; *Ibid.*, p. 246 and notes.
440. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa, op. cit.*, pp. 245-6.
441. *Ibid.*, p. 246 and notes; *HJM*, p. 39.
442. *HJM*, p. 39.
443. *TSPC*, II, pp. 277-81; *JI*, p. 58; *JPV*, p. 99.
444. *JOLR*, p. 29.
445. *HJM*, p. 59 fn 6.
446. *HP*, Editorial.
447. *JOLR*, p. 23.
448. *Ibid.*, p. 20 fn 3.
449. *Ibid.* fn 4.
450. *Ibid.* fn 5.
451. *Ibid.*, p. 21 fn 2.
452. P. Banerjee, *Early Indian Religions*, p. 147, cited in A.K. Mittal, *Political and Cultural History of India from Indus Valley Civilisation to 1206 AD*, 1992, p. 155 fn 2.

Vardhamāna Mahāvīra's two immediate predecessors were historical persons.[453]

According to the Jaina·tradition, Neminātha was a cousin of Kṛṣṇa. The tradition associating Neminātha with Kṛṣṇa appears to be very old. Several images of the Kuṣāṇa and the post-Kuṣāṇa period represent Neminātha in the company of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma.[454] Jinaprabha Sūri's *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, a Jaina text of the fourteenth century, .also tells that Neminātha had a specially honoured place in Mathurā.[455] Hira Lal Jain opined that during the *Mahābhārata* period Neminātha was the head of the order that ranged itself against Vedic sacrifices.[456] He probably drew this conclusion from the fact that 'Neminātha is said to have emphasised the principle of *ahiṁsā*'.[457] Kṛṣṇa's historicity is universally accepted.[458] Therefore, some scholars opine that the historicity of Neminātha, 'who according to the Jaina tradition was Kṛṣṇa's cousin',[459] should also be accepted.[460] In short, the tradition regarding the historicity of Neminātha is fairly strong.

Some scholars hold that the *Ṛgveda* contains a clear reference to Ṛṣabha,[461] and that Keśī of the *Ṛgveda* and Ṛṣabha of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is the same person.[462] It may, therefore, be reasonable to assume that probably Ṛṣabha lived in the Ṛgvedic Age and that 'Jainism is as old as Vedic religion'.[463] In other words, like Hinduism, Jainism originated in the Ṛgvedic Age. The dating of the

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453. P. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
454. *JAA*, I, p. 50; *MM* no. 34. 2488.
455. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p. 86; *MS*, p. 2; *JAA*, I, p. 50.
456. *CUHI*, I, p. 220.
457. *HP*, pp. 616-34; *JAA*, I, p. 17.
458. *CMHI*, II, p. 380; *Krishna The Divine Lover*, ed. David, R. Godine, 1982, p. 104; A.D. Pusalker, *Studies in the Epics and Puranas*, 1955, pp. 49ff.
459. *HP*, Editorial; *SIJA*, p. 4; *JAA*, I, Preface, vii.
460. *HJM*, p. 59 fn 6; *JOLR*, p. 20 fn 3.
461. *JAA*, I, Preface, vii; *JOLR*, pp. 29, 41, 42; *CUHI*, I, p. 185.
462. Hira Lal Jain, *Bhāratiya Saṁskṛti Mein Jain Dharma Kā Yogadāna*, 1962, pp. 13-16.
463. *Ibid.*, p. 17; *CUHI*, I, p. 185.

Ṛgvedic period has been a subject of much controversy. Max Muller proposed in 1859 that the Aryans arrived in India around 1500 BC, and that the *Ṛgveda* was composed between 1200-1000 BC.[464] His theory was stoutly opposed by scholars like Winternitz, Buhler, Macdonell, Muir, etc., and scholars like Winternitz, Whitney, Pargiter and Goldstucker protested against this arbitrary fixation.[465] Winternitz assigned the composition of the *Ṛgveda* to 2500 BC.[466] But the bulk of eminent historians holds that the Ṛgvedic period began about 2000 BC.[467] It may, thus, be assumed that Ṛṣabha lived sometime in the Ṛgvedic period, which began around 2000 BC or 2500 BC.

According to the Jaina tradition, Neminātha was a cousin of Kṛṣṇa. In other words, Neminātha lived in the *Mahābhārata* period. There is no unanimity among historians and archaeologists regarding the date of the Bhārata War. But it is generally accepted that this war was fought between 1400 BC and 1000 BC.[468] Neminātha must have lived at some period between these two dates. The *Kalpasūtra* gives the life of only four *tīrthaṁkara*s — Ṛṣabha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra — and, merely provides a list of the remaining twenty *tīrthaṁkara*s.[469] According to the *Kalpasūtra*, the remaining twenty *tīrthaṁkara*s lived between the ages of Ṛṣabha and Neminātha.[470]

Therefore, the first twenty-two *tīrthaṁkara*s — from the first *tīrthaṁkara* Ṛṣabha to the twenty-second *tīrthaṁkara* Neminātha — must have lived in quick succession to one another during 2500 BC and 1000 BC. The historicity

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464. *Historical Archaeology of India, A Dialogue between Archaeologists and Historians*, ed. Amit Ray and Samir Mukherjee, 1990, p. 29
465. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
466. D.R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, 1940, p. 2.
467. R.C. Dutt, *Early Hindu Civilisation*, 1927, p. 1; B.N. Puri, *Indian History, A Review*, 1960, p. 10; H.G. Rawlinson, *India —A Short Cultural History*, 1952, p. 19; P.N. Bose, *Epochs of Civilisation*, 1913, p. 113.
468. *AOIU*, p. 251.
469. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Notes on Jaina Art*, Peckham, pp. 2-5.
470. *Ibid*.

of Pārśva, the twenty-third *tīrthaṁkara*, and Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth *tīrthaṁkara*, is beyond doubt. The life span of Pārśvanātha has been calculated as 877-777 BC,[471] i.e., he lived in the ninth-eighth century BC. It is, thus, clear that there is no huge interval of time between Neminātha, the twenty-second *tīrthaṁkara*, and Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthaṁkara*. According to the Jaina tradition, Mahāvīra died two hundred fifty years after Pārśvanātha's *nirvāṇa*,[472] i.e., in 527 BC.[473] The foregoing account makes it clear that probably the twenty-four Jaina *tīrthaṁkaras* lived between 2500 BC and 527 BC.

Very little infomation exists regarding the life of the *tīrthaṁkaras* who followed Ṛṣabha except Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra.[474] But there is nothing unbelievable in the Jaina belief in twenty-four *tīrthaṁkaras*.[475] Probably, the influence of the first twenty-two *tīrthaṁkaras* was confined to a small number of followers.[476] The followers preserved the names of these *tīrthaṁkaras*, but failed to maintain a complete record of their life.[477] It is certain that the Jaina tradition of twenty-four *tīrthaṁkaras* is an ancient one.[478] Archaeological excavations conducted at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā in late nineteenth century have brought to light immense archaeological material, including inscriptions and images of many *tīrthaṁkaras*. It proves that as early as the first-second century AD, the Jainas not only believed in the historicity of Ṛṣabha and some other *jinas*, but also worshipped them in concrete form. We shall deal with this in detail when we take up the history of Jainism in Mathurā later in this book.

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471. *JOLR*, p. 14; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
472. *CHI*, I, p. 153; *CUHI*, I, p. 185; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JOLR*, p. 14; *SIJA*, p. 40; *AOIU*, p. 411; *JSAI*, p. 32.
473. *JSAI*, p. 35; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JSS*, p. 22; *CUHI*, I, pp. 220-1; *JI*, p. 89; *ACHI*, p. 101.
474. Hira Lal Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
475. *JOLR*, pp. 16-17, p. 17 fn 1.
476. *CHAI*, III, p. 274.
477. *Ibid.*
478. *ROAI*, p. 112.

3

Pārśvanātha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra

EVEN as late as the middle of the twentieth century, some eminent historians doubted the historicity of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthaṁkara*, and held that 'Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was the founder of Jainism'.[1]

The historicity of Pārśvanātha

The historicity of Pārśvanātha is now almost universally accepted.[2] Scholars like Hermann Jacobi,[3] Jarl Charpentier,[4] R.C. Majumdar, H.C. Raychaudhuri, K.K. Datta,[5] A.M. Ghatage,[6] M.N. Deshpande,[7] U.P. Shah,[8] J.C. Jain,[9] J.P. Jain,[10] Muni Uttam Kamal Jain,[11] and numerous others[12] hold that Pārśvanātha was a historical person, and some like Rhys Davids,[13]

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1. A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, 1954, p. 287; *IP*, p. 69; *EWA*, VIII, p. 786.
2. *ACHI*, p. 101.
3. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
4. *CHI*, I, p. 153.
5. *AAHI* (*AI*), p. 86.
6. *AOIU*, p. 411.
7. *JAA*, I, pp. 16-17.
8. *SIJA*, p. 40.
9. *LDJC*, pp. 23-4.
10. *JOLR*, p. 23.
11. *JSS*, pp. 9, 12, 13.
12. *CUHI*, I, pp. 185, 220; *JSS*, p. 9 fn.1, pp. 12-13 fn.17.
13. *JI*, p. 81 fn. 3.

Harmsworth,[14] B.C. Law[15] and others[16] consider him the founder of Jainism. The historicity of Pārśvanātha is not difficult to prove. Much literature has clustered around his name. The well-known Jaina text, the *Kalpasūtra*, stated to have been written by the pontiff Bhadrabāhu (perhaps somewhat before 300 BC), contains an account of the life of Pārśvanātha in the chapter entitled 'The life of the Jinas'.[17] We learn from the Jaina work *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra*[18] that Mahāvīra's parents followed the faith of Pārśvanātha.[19] The Jaina text *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi* mentions the names of many ascetics belonging to the sect of Pārśvanātha, who were present at the time of Mahāvīra's wanderings as an ascetic.[20] The Jaina text *Bhagavatī*[21] contains the discussion which took place between Mahāvīra and a follower of Pārśvanātha named Gāṅgeya.[22]

The followers of Pārśvanātha were known as Nirgranthas. Hermann Jacobi proved on the strength of references in Pāli literature that the Nirgranthas or the followers of Pārśva existed before the time of Mahāvīra.[23] One of the arguments advanced by Jacobi to prove the historical existence of Pārśvanātha deserves special notice. He has made a reference to a Buddhist sūtra which mistakenly attributes to Mahāvīra the religion of the four vows.[24] We know it that it was Pārśva who propounded the religion of the four vows

14. *JOLR*, p. 15 fn. 2.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 16 fn. 2.
16. *CHI*, I, p. 153.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
18. *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra*, II.3.401, p. 389, cited in *LDJC*, p. 20 fn.10.
19. *LDJC*, p. 20; *SIJA*, p. 40; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *AOIU*, p. 412.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Bhagavatī*, 9.32 cited in *LDJC*, p. 20 fn. 15.
22. *LDJC*, p. 20.
23. *SBE*, Introductions, vols. XXII and XLV; *LDJC*, P. 21; *RI*, p. 283 fn. 2.
24. *AOIU*, p. 412.

or the four-point religion or the four-fold path,[25] i.e., *cāturyāma dharma*[26] and not Mahāvīra. The occurrence of this mistake in a Buddhist sūtra proves that the followers of Pārśva existed in the time of Mahāvīra.[27] We learn from the Jaina text *Bhagavatī*[28] that at a place called Tuṅgiyā five hundred pupils of Pārśva embraced the five *mahāvrata*s (five-point path) of Mahāvīra.[29]

The famous dialogue between Keśin, a disciple of Pārśva, and Gautama or Indrabhūti, a disciple of Mahāvīra, which occurs in chapter XXIII of the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, one of the earliest texts of the Jaina canon, almost conclusively proves that Pārśva was a historical person.[30] Pārśvanātha's followers existed in the time of Mahāvīra and also a few centuries after the latter's death.[31] The religion of Pārśva was popular among some sections of society. Dharmananda Kosambi, a well-known scholar of Buddhism, is of opinion that before his attainment of enlightenment Gautama Buddha had entered the order founded by Pārśvanātha for sometime.[32] Gautama Buddha's own statements bear testimony to the opinion expressed by Kosambi.[33] A study of Buddhist literature reveals the fact that in the early part of his ascetic life Gautama Buddha himself observed the ascetic practices which have been prescribed for a Jaina ascetic.[34] The historicity of Pārśvanātha is beyond doubt. There is truth in the Jaina tradition that Mahāvīra was not the founder of Jainism; he in fact, was a reformer of the order of the Nirgranthas founded by Pārśvanātha.[35]

25. *AOIU*, p. 412.
26. *JSS*, p. 10.
27. *AOIU*, p. 412.
28. *Bhagavatī*, pp. 136 ff. cited in *JSS*, p. 19 fn. 2.
29. *HJM*, pp. 63-4; *JSS*, p. 19.
30. *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JSS*, p. 13; *AOIU*, p. 412; *LDJC*, p. 21.
31. *SIJA*, p. 40.
32. *JSS*, p. 11.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *CUHI*, I, p. 185.
35. *LDJC*, pp. 22-3; *AOIU*, p. 412; *JSS*, p. 21.

Background of Pārśvanātha

There were two principal streams of thought in ancient India. The current of thought which believed in the authority of the Vedas and the sanctity of Vedic rituals was known as Brāhmaṇical. The stream of thought which opposed the Brāhmaṇical thought and practices was known as Śramaṇic.[36]

Śramaṇa is a peculiarly Jaina term which is used to designate a Jaina monk.[37] The Śramaṇic culture had its distinct peculiarities. The śramaṇas held a number of primitive views like a pessimistic outlook on life, an animistic belief in the presence of soul in all things, the doctrine of the transmigration of soul, the potency of *karma*, etc. Pārśvanātha's ideology was Śramaṇic. The order to which he belonged may be called the śramaṇa *saṁgha*.[38] The doctrine of *ahiṁsā* on which Pārśvanātha laid stress was not a new doctrine. It was probably as old as the Vedas.[39] Neminātha, the twenty-second *tīrthaṁkara*, is also said to have emphasised the doctrine of *ahiṁsā*.[40]

Life of Pārśvanātha

The life and teachings of Pārśvanātha should be viewed in the light of this background. Pārśvanātha was born to Aśvasena, the king of Benares, and his queen Vāmā,[41] who was also known as Brahmā.[42] The name Aśvasena does not occur in the Brāhmaṇic literature.[43] The only king of this name which finds mention in epic literature is a Nāga king.[44] Pārśvanātha was married to the daughter of the king of Kośala[45] or to the daughter of the king

36. *JSAI*, p. 4.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *CUHI*, I, p. 220.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
40. *HP*, pp. 616-34; *JAA*, I, p. 17; *JPV*, p. 117.
41. *CHI*, I, p. 154; *LDJC*, p. 19; *JSS*, p. 9; *AOIU*, p. 411.
42. *JI*, p. 82.
43. *CHI*, p. 154.
44. *Ibid.*; K.A.N. Sastri, *History of India*, Part I, p. 45.
45. *JI*, pp. 82-3.

of Pāñcāla.[46] According to the *Kalpasūtra*, Pārśvanātha spent thirty years of his life as a householder in great happiness and splendour; after that he renounced all his wealth and became an ascetic.[47] He attained the perfect knowledge of a prophet after intense meditation for eighty-four days.[48] After becoming a *kevalin* he lived for about seventy years in the state of most exalted perfection and sainthood.[49] He attained *mokṣa* on the top of Samet Śikhara.[50]

From the biographical details of Pārśvanātha, we learn that he visited Ahicchatra,[51] which is Ramnagar in Bareilly district of Uttar Pradesh;[52] Hathināura[53] or Hatthināpura,[54] which is Hastinapura in the Meerut district of Uttar Pradesh;[55] Śrāvastī,[56] which is Sahet-Mahet in Gonda-Bahraich district of Uttar Pradesh;[57] Rāyagiha,[58] which is Rajgir in Bihar-Sharif district;[59] Kośāmbī,[60] which is Kosam near Allahabad;[61] Sāgeya;[62] which is Saket or Ayodhya;[63] Āmalakappā,[64] which is a place near Vaiśālī in Vaiśālī

46. *JSS*, p. 14.
47. *Kalpasūtra* 6.149-69; *CHI*, I, p. 154; *HJM*, p. 60.
48. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *OISJ*, p. 66.
51. *HJM*, p. 60; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *LDJC*, p. 19.
52. *HGAI*, p. 63; *GD*, p. 2; *GEAMI*, I, p. 8.
53. *JAA*, I, p. 16.
54. *LDJC*, p. 19; *HJM*, p. 60.
55. *HGAI*, p. 81; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
56. *HJM*, p. 61; *LDJC*, p. 19; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
57. *HGAI*, p. 124; *GD*, p. 190; *ibid.*
58. *HJM*, p. 60; *LDJC*, p. 19; *ibid.*
59. *Ibid.* fn. 17; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *HGAI*, pp. 254-5.
60. *HJM*, p. 60; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *LDJC*, p. 19.
61. *HGAI*, p. 99.
62. *HJM*, p. 61; *JSS*, p. 9; *LDJC*, p. 19; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
63. *HGAI*, p. 67.
64. *HJM*, p. 60; *LDJC*, p. 19; *JAA*, I, p. 16.

district of Bihar;[65] and Kamillapura,[66] which is Kampil in the Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh.[67] Systematic archaeological excavations have been made at Rajghat (Varāṇasī), Ahicchatra, Hastinapura and Kośāmbī.[68] These places were in existence long before the sixth century BC.[69] It is, therefore, credible that these places were associated with the activities of Pārśvanātha,[70] who lived in the ninth-eighth century BC.[71]

Pārśvanātha is said to have died 250 years before the death of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra.[72] The date of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* (death) is the sheet anchor of Jaina chronology; all dates, anterior and posterior, are counted from this event, which is the starting point of the current Jaina or Mahāvīra era.[73] The Jainas are almost unanimous in holding that Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* took place in 527 BC,[74] and a large number of historians have expressed agreement with this date.[75] Pārśvanātha, thus, died in 777 BC, i.e., 250 years before the death of Mahāvīra. Pārśva is said to have lived for one hundred years.[76] It is, therefore, clear that Pārśvanātha lived from 877 BC to 777 BC.[77]

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65. *HGAI*, p. 203; *HJM*, p. 60 fn. 13; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
66. *JAA*, I, p. 16; *HJM*, p. 60; *LDJC*, p. 19.
67. *HGAI*, p. 92; *HJM*, p. 60 fn 15; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
68. *JAA*, I, p. 16.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 16; *JOLR*, p. 14.
72. *CHI*, I, p. 153; *CUHI*, I, p. 185; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JOLR*, p. 14; *SIJA*, p. 40; *AOIU*, p. 411; *JSAI*, p. 32.
73. *JSAI*, p. 32.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
75. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JSS*, p. 22; *CUHI*, I, pp. 220-1; *JI*, p. 89; *ACHI*, p. 101.
76. *CHI*, I, p. 154; *AOIU*, p. 411; *JI*, p. 83; *JSS*, p. 14; *LDJC*, p. 19; *Kalpasūtra*, 6.149-69; *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JOLR*, p. 14.
77. *JAA*, I, p. 16; *JOLR*, p. 14.

The teachings of Pārśvanātha

Pārśvanātha believed in the eternity of matter.[78] His followers preached that self-control causes the cessation of *karma*, and penance leads to its annihilation.[79] He laid special emphasis on *ahiṁsā* (non-violence).[80] Pārśvanātha propounded the *cāturyāma dharma* or a four-point religion.[81] The four-fold path of Pārśva enjoined on his followers four great vows, i.e., (1) not to injure life; (2) to be truthful; (3) not to steal; and (4) non-possession.[82] Mahāvīra converted the four-fold path of Pārśva into five *mahāvratas* by adding the doctrine of chastity or celibacy to it.[83]

It would be wrong to think that the four-fold religion preached by Pārśvanātha did not include the doctrine of celibacy. In fact, the principle of celibacy is automatically implied in non-possession.[84] Pārśva allowed his disciples to wear an upper and an under garment; Mahāvīra, on the other hand, prescribed complete nudity.[85] But even this difference was outward and superficial rather than real.[86] In fact, the fundamental principles of Pārśva and Mahāvīra were substantially identical.[87]

Both Pārśva and Mahāvīra believed that right knowledge, right faith and right conduct were essential for the attainment of *mokṣa*. The discussion between Keśin, a disciple of Pārśva, and Gautama or Indrabhūti, a disciple of Mahāvīra, which is embodied in chapter twenty-three of the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, is significant to note. In reply to a question by Keśin,

78. *AOIU*, p. 411.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, 23.12, cited in *JSS*, p. 10 fn. 5; *LDJC*, p. 23; *AOIU*, p. 411; *CHI*, I, p. 154; *JSS*, p. 10.
81. *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, 23.12, *op. cit.*; *JSS*, p. 10.
82. *Ibid.*, 23.12, *op. cit.*; *JSS*, p. 10; *LDJC*, p. 23; *CHI*, I, p. 154; *AOIU*, pp. 411-12.
83. *Ibid.*, 23.12; *JSS*, p. 10 fn. 9; *CHI*, I, p. 154; *AOIU*, pp. 411-12.
84. *Uttarādhyayana*, 23, cited in *JSS*, p. 14 fn. 23; *AOIU*, pp. 411-12; *JSS*, p. 14.
85. *CHI*, I, p. 154; *JSS*, pp. 10-11; *LDJC*, p. 23.
86. *LDJC*, p. 23; *JSS*, p. 11.
87. *Ibid.*

Gautama said that right knowledge, right faith and right conduct were the true means to liberation and not outward symbols.[88] It is, therefore, not surprising to learn from chapter twenty-three of the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra* that many followers of the tradition of Pārśva embraced the five *mahāvratas* of Mahāvīra because they felt that the doctrines of both were similar.[89] The division of the Jaina Church into the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara did not occur in Mahāvīra's lifetime; it, in fact, appeared long after his death. The Jaina tradition has preserved only those points of Pārśva's teachings which differed from those of Mahāvīra; all common points in their teachings have been ignored.[90]

The contribution of Pārśvanātha

Pārśvanātha divided his followers into four parts — monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen — and also appointed *gaṇadharas* to run the organisation.[91] The foundation of four orders (*gaṇas*), each having a head (*gaṇadhara*), was probably the best arrangement that Pārśvanātha could make for the organisation of the Jaina Church.[92] The religion of Pārśvanātha was meant for all; he did not believe in distinctions based on caste and creed.[93] He was a powerful religious teacher who raised his voice against caste system and merciless slaughter of animals.[94] As a well-wisher of women, he gave them freedom by opening the doors of his organisation for them.[95]

Pārśvanātha propagated his Nirgrantha Dharma among the wild tribes

88. *Ibid.*; *JSS*, pp. 11-13; *AOIU*, p. 412.
89. *JSS*, p. 11 fn. 11.
90. *AOIU*, p. 412.
91. *HJM*, p. 62; *JSS*, p. 9.
92. *LDJC*, p. 23.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 22; *JSS*, p. 9.
94. *Ibid.*
95. *LDJC*, p. 22.

of West Bengal also.[96] The 'Sarākas'[97] of Singhabhuma, Manbhuma and Lohardaga in the Ranchi district of Bihar still worship him.[98] They belong to the line of ancient Jaina *śrāvaka*s, but have embraced Hinduism.[98] Some of them still profess Jainism. The Sarākas of Manbhuma are Hindus; but they are strict vegetarians.[100] They drink filtered water and do not take meals after dusk.[101]

The discovery of images of Pārśvanātha in Bengal and Bihar is evidence of his popularity in these regions. It is an index of his popularity that Samet Śikhara, which stands in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar, is now called Pārśvanātha Hill. For unknown reasons Pārśvanātha seems to be more popular than other *tīrthaṁkara*s in West Bengal.[102] Apparently, the Bengalis have identified Jainism with Pārśvanātha.[103] This confusion can be a product of their ignorance; it can also be the outcome of a persistent tradition.[104] Pārśvanātha was a member of the royal family of Kāśī or Benares. He was son-in-law of the king of Pāñcāla or Kośala. Therefore, Jainism must have enjoyed some royal patronage in Pārśva's time.[105] Pārśvanātha seems to have enjoyed a large following. According to the *Kalpasūtra*, his followers consisted of 16,000 monks, 38,000 nuns, 164,000 laymen and 327,000 laywomen.[106]

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96. *JSS*, p. 12.
97. The word 'Sarāka' appears to be Apabhraṁśa of the word *śrāvaka*, which is a typical word in Jainism. See *JSS*, p. 12 fn. 14.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
99. *Ibid.*
100. *Ibid.*
101. *Ibid.*
102. *CHAI*, III, p. 275 fn. 1.
103. *Ibid.*
104. *Ibid.*
105. *HJM*, p. 61.
106. *Ibid.*; *JSS*, p. 14.

Vardhmāna Mahāvīra

Pārśvanātha's successor Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was the last of the twenty-four Jaina *tīrthaṁkaras*. Before unfolding his life and teachings it is essential to study the conditions of his time, i.e., the sixth century BC.

Background of Mahāvīra

The sixth century BC was a period of great intellectual and spiritual ferment.[107] Freedom of religious speculation, of which we get the first fruits in the earlier Upaniṣads, was the special characteristic of this period.[108] Mystics and sophists of all kinds roamed through the Ganga Valley.[109] A class of wandering ascetics, freed from the obligations of prevailing religious ideas and practices, thought out anew the fundamental problems of life.[110] The ascetic orders and brotherhoods multiplied;[111] they questioned the sanctity of the Vedic lore, the utility of rituals and the claims of the brāhmaṇas to spiritual superiority.[112] They leaned towards new systems of philosophy.[113] Sixty-three different philosophical schools, most of which were unorthodox in nature, existed in the sixth century BC, proving thereby that the revolt against the Vedic religion had begun long before that period.[114]

The ascetics advocated some form of mental discipline and asceticism as a means to salvation.[115] Eastern India saw the rise of a class, which although believing in the doctrine of the transmigration of soul and *karma*, rejected the authority of the Vedas and of Vedic priests, denounced animal sacrifices

107. A.L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
108. *AOIU*, p. 360.
109. A.L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
110. *AOIU*, p. 360.
111. *HOIC*, I, p. 155.
112. K.A.N. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
113. *HOIC*, I, p. 155.
114. R.D. Banerji, *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, Bombay, 1950, p. 52.
115. A.L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

which constituted so large a part of the Brāhmaṇic ritual, and even denied the existence of God, and consequently, the efficacy of divine grace.[116]

The Jaina Aṅga texts reveal the existence of a number of wandering communities, the members of which entered monkhood and gave up all contact with society.[117] The existence of these communities is corroborated by the oldest Buddhist texts, the accounts of Megasthenes and the edicts of Aśoka.[118] Among all the wandering communities, a place of prominence was attributed to a class of wandering mendicants called śramaṇas.[119] The śramaṇas like other wandering communities gave up worldly life; they led a wandering life and stayed at one place only in the rainy season.[120] They maintained themselves by begging food, avoided injury to living beings and did not acknowledge caste barriers.[121] They declared that right conduct was the way to get out of the meshes of *karma* and *saṁsāra*, and that right conduct also included the practice of *ahiṁsā*.[122] We have already stated that Pārśvanātha had established a four-fold order of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen, and many ascetics belonging to his order were active in the time of Mahāvīra also. The life and teachings of Mahāvīra should be viewed in the light of these developments.

Life of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra

Some authentic facts of Mahāvīra's life can be collected from the Ardha-Māgadhī canon, i.e., *Ācārāṅga*, *Bhagavatī* and *Kalpasūtra*.[123] The oldest existing biography of Mahāvīra is embodied in the *Kalpasūtra*.[124] The Jaina

116. *AAHI*, p. 84.
117. *HJM*, p. 44.
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-5.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*
122. *AAHI*, p. 84.
123. *AOIU*, p. 413.
124. *CHI*, I, p. 156.

texts like *Uttara Purāṇa*, *Vardhamāncarita* and *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* yield abundant material regarding his life.[125] Passages in some old Jaina canonical works,[126] and Buddhist scriptures also provide valuable hints about his life.[127]

Mahāvīra was born at Kuṇḍagrāma, a suburb of Vaiśālī, now called Basukunda,[128] in 599 BC.[129] He belonged to the Nāya clan which is known as Nāta in Pali and Jñātṛi in Sanskrit.[130] His father Siddhārtha was a wealthy kṣatriya nobleman,[131] head of a warrior clan called the Jñātṛkas.[132] and also chief of Kuṇḍapura.[133] Mahāvīra's mother Triśalā,[134] a kṣatriya lady,[135] also called Priyakāriṇī,[136] was the sister of Ceṭaka, an eminent Licchavi prince of Vaiśālī.[137]

According to the Jaina tradition, Siddhārtha and Triśalā had one daughter and two sons, the younger of whom was named Vardhamāna.[138] We learn from the *Kalpasūtra*[139] and *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*[140] that Mahāvīra's original name was Vardhamāna. The tale that Mahāvīra was conceived by a brāhmaṇa lady named Devānandā, and that his embryo was

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125. *JI*, p. 86.
126. *CHI*, I, p. 157.
127. *Ibid.*
128. *Ibid.*; *AOIU*, p. 413; *JAA*, I, p. 22.
129. *CUHI*, I, p. 220; *JSS*, p. 20; *JSAI*, p. 53; *JAA*, I, p. 22.
130. *AOIU*, p. 413.
131. *Ibid.*; *CHI*, I, p. 157.
132. *CHI*, I, p. 157.
133. *AAHI*, p. 84.
134. *Ibid.*; *AOIU*, p. 413; *CHI*, I, p. 157.
135. *AAHI*, p. 84.
136. *ACHI*, p. 101; *JSAI*, p. 34.
137. *AOIU*, p. 413; *CHI*, I, p. 157.
138. *CHI*, I, p. 157.
139. *Ibid.*; *JSS*, p. 20 fn. 7.
140. *TSPC*, VI, p. 34.

later transferred from the womb of Devānandā to that of Triśalā by Naigameṣa is believed only by the Śvetāmbara Jainas.[141] And, although a sculpture from Mathurā represents this scene,[142] the Digambaras treat this story as a fabrication. Vardhamāna's more popular name, i.e., Mahāvīra is said to have been bestowed on him by gods.[143] The Jaina canon gives him a number of suggestive epithets also, i.e., Nāyaputta[144] called Nātaputta in Pali,[145] meaning 'a scion of the Nāya clan', Kāśava on account of his *gotra*, Vesāliya after his place of birth, and Videhadinna after his native country.[146] But he is most frequently referred to as 'the venerableascetic Mahāvīra'.[147]

Triśalā was related to the ruling families of Vaiśālī and Magadha.[148] Due to his marriage with the Licchavi princess Triśalā, Siddhārtha became a relative of Bimbisāra, the powerful ruler of Magadha, who had married Cellanā, daughter of Ceṭaka, the ruler of Vaiśālī.[149] According to the Digambaras, Mahāvīra remained celibate.[150] But the Śvetāmbara tradition views that Mahāvīra was married to Yaśodā,[151] who was the daughter of king Samaravīra.[152] Mahāvīra had a daughter named Aṇojjā or Priyadarśanā from this marriage.[153] She was married to Jamāli,[154] who later became a

141. *CHI*, I, pp. 157-8; *TSPC*, VI, pp. 25-7.
142. *AOIU*, p. 413; *MCH*, p. 354.
143. *Ibid.*; *CHAI*, III, p. 276.
144. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
145. *ACHI*, p. 101.
146. *CHAI*, III, p. 276; *AOIU*, p. 413.
147. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
148. *AAHI*, p. 84.
149. *CHI*, I, p. 157.
150. *JSS*, p. 20 fn. 8; *HJM*, p. 66 fn. 57; *CHAI*, III, p. 277.
151. *AAHI*, p. 85; *JSS*, p. 20; *AOIU*, p. 413; *CHI*, I, p. 158; *TSPC*, VI, pp. 35-6.
152. *JSS*, p. 20; *TSPC*, VI, p. 34.
153. *AOIU*, p. 413; *HJM*, pp. 65-6; *CHAI*, III, p. 277.
154. *Ibid.*; *CHI*, I, p. 158.

disciple of Mahāvīra and caused the first schism in the Jaina Church.[155] Jamāli's name does not occur in older Jaina texts; it is mentioned only in the texts of *Āvaśyaka* tradition.[156] The absence of his name in early books of the Jaina canon may be due to the fact that he played an ignominious role by creating a schism in the Jaina Church.[157]

Mahāvīra's mind was averse to secular matters.[158] He had a reflective mind from his childhood, and although the education and training meant for the princes of his time was provided to him, consciousness dawned upon him that the world is transitory in nature.[159] After the death of his parents, Mahāvīra renounced his home with the permission of his elder brother Nandivardhana, and embarked upon the life of a homeless monk.[160] He was in the thirtieth year of his life at that time.[161] Unlike Gautama Buddha, Mahāvīra had no need to wander in search of a teacher who could suggest him the true path.[162] Mahāvīra had a predecessor in Pārśvanātha to look for enlightenment,[163] and he became a Jaina monk.[164] Mahāvīra's parents and the whole clan of Nāya kṣatriyas are said to have been the followers of the tenets of Pārśvanātha.[165] Probably, after renouncing the world, Mahāvīra first joined Pārśvanātha's sect, but soon took upon himself the role of its reformer.[166] The first book of the Jaina canon, i.e., the *Ācārāṅga-Sūtra* has

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155. *HJM*, p. 79; *Ibid.*
156. *AOIU*, p. 413; *CHAI*, III, p. 277.
157. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
158. *CUHI*, I, p. 220.
159. *Ibid.*
160. *CHI*, I, p. 158; *AOIU*, p. 413.
161. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *CHAI*, III, p. 277.
162. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *ACHI*, p. 101.
163. *ACHI*, p. 101.
164. *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
165. *Ibid.*, p. 466 fn. 1.
166. *Ibid.*

preserved a ballad,[167] which gives an account of the years during which Mahāvīra led the life of hardest asceticism and prepared himself for the attainment of highest spiritual knowledge.[168] This fine ballad gives us a beautiful picture of the way in which Mahāvīra peformed his meditation and spent his time in austerities, and also of rough treatment he received from unfriendly people.[169]

Mahāvīra left his home at the beginning of winter; this shows his inclination towards severe asceticism.[170] Thirteen months later, also in winter, he abandoned his clothing and began to wander as a naked monk.[171] In this period his thought matured.[172] He attributed life (*jīva*) not only to animals and plants, but also to material objects like earth and water; assumed the real cause of worldly misery to be *karma*, engendered by indulgence in sensual pleasure, and the essential misery of life to be due to the endless cycle of birth and death.[173] His own behaviour furnished an example to be followed by monks in their religious life.[174] This ballad also suggests that after a period of two years and two months he decided on a wandering mode of existence which lasted twelve years.[175]

For half of this period Mahāvīra lived with a mendicant friar named Gosāla, who subsequently left him and became the head of the Ājīvika sect.[176] The Jaina tradition tells us that Mahāvīra was born with three types of knowledge and acquired the fourth at the beginning of his monkhood.[177] In the

167. This ballad has been translated in *Sacred Books of the East* (*SBE*), vol. XXII, pp. 79 ff.
168. *CHI*, I, p. 158.
169. *AOIU*, pp. 413-14.
170. *Ibid.*, p. 413.
171. *Ibid.*
172. *Ibid.*
173. *Ibid.*, p. 414.
174. *Ibid.*
175. *Ibid.*; *CHI*, I, pp. 158-9; *AAHI*, p. 85.
176. *Ibid.*, pp. 414-15; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
177. *Ibid.*, p. 414.

thirteenth year of his penance Mahāvīra retired to the northern bank of the river Ṛjupālikā outside Jṛmbhikagrāma, a little known locality in eastern India, and attained the highest spiritual knowledge called *kevala-jñāna*.[178] He was now a *kevalin* (omniscient), a *jina* (conqueror) and *mahāvīra* (the great hero).[179] At this time Vardhamāna, now styled Mahāvīra or *jina*, was forty-two years old; and from this age he entered upon a new stage of life, i.e., the life of a religious teacher and the head of a sect called the Nirgranthas or 'free from fetters', a designation which was later replaced by the term Jainas or the followers of the *jina*.[180] Mahāvīra was a Nirgrantha monk and also a scion of the Jñātṛka clan; therefore, his opponents, the Buddhist, called him Niggantha Nātputta in Pāli canon,[181] and Nirgrantho Jñātsputraḥ in Sanskrit.[182] This fact is now universally accepted that Niggantha Nātputta of the sacred books of the Buddhists was Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, who was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha.[183]

The acquisition of perfect knowledge entailed the continuation of a wandering mode of life and constant preaching of his doctrines to all kinds of men. He wandered for eight months in the year and spent four months of the rainy season in some famous town of eastern India.[184] According to the Jaina tradition, Mahāvīra spent one or more than one season at Campā, Vaiśālī, Rājgṛha, Mithilā and Śrāvastī.[185] Mahāvīra propagated his faith for thirty years,[186] and during the span of his missionary activities he moved from place to place.[187] The *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* contains the names of the places

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178. *AOIU*, p. 414; *CHI*, I, p. 159; *AAHI*, p. 85.
179. *CHI*, I, pp. 159-60; *ibid.*, p. 85.
180. *Ibid.*, p. 160; *Ibid.*
181. *CHI*, I, p. 160; *ACHI*, p. 101.
182. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
183. *Ibid.*
184. *AOIU*, p. 414-15.
185. *Ibid.*, p. 415.
186. *LDJC*, p. 24; *JSS*, p. 20; *AAHI*, p. 85; *CHI*, I, p. 160.
187. *JAA*, I, pp. 22-3; *HJM*, pp. 67-9.

which Mahāvīra visited for the purpose of propagating his religion.[188] Many of these places have been identified; but there are many which cannot be located.[189]

Some of the places Mahāvīra is said to have visited are — Bhadrika[190] or Bhaddiya,[191] which is modern Monghyr[192] in Bihar; Campā, which is Campanagar or Campapur[193] near Bhagalpur[194] in Bihar; Ladha, which covers a large part of West Bengal these days;[195] Subbhabhūmi, which is Singhabhum in Bengal;[196] Mithilā, which is Janakpur in Nepal Tarai;[197] Purimtāla, which is Purulia in Bihar[198] or Prayag, i.e., Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh;[199] Vārāṇasī in Uttar Pradesh[200] and Kauśāmbī,[201] which is Kosam near Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh.[202]

It is, thus, clear that Mahāvīra preached Jainism in parts of Bihar, western districts of West Bengal and eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh.[203] He visited all great towns of north and south Bihar, principally dwelling in the kingdoms of Magadha and Aṅga.[204] It appears that the fields of influence of

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188. *JSAI*, p. 34 fn. 5.
189. *JAA*, I, pp. 22-3; *HJM*, pp. 67-9.
190. *Ibid.*
191. *HJM*, p. 67.
192. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, pp. 22-3.
193. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
194. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
195. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
196. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
197. *Ibid.*, p. 68; *JAA*, I, pp. 22-3.
198. *Ibid.*
199. *JAA*, I, pp. 22-3.
200. *Ibid.*, *HJM*, p. 69.
201. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, p. 68.
202. *HGAI*, p. 99.
203. *JAA*, I, p. 23.
204. *CHI*, I, p. 160.

both Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra were more or less the same.[205] It is possible that in the intervening period between Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra, some religious chaos had occurred; therefore, Mahāvīra had to devote his entire missionary career in reorganising Jainism in the region where it had earlier been propagated by Pārśvanātha.[206]

According to some Jaina traditions, Mahāvīra visited even more distant places.[207] On the authority of *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, a late work, K.P. Jain has expressed the view that Mahāvīra had toured extensively in Rajputana, Punjab, south India, and north-western countries like Kamboja and Vālhīka.[208] Nothing certain can be said about this.[209] Mahāvīra is said to have ordained numerous kings, queens, princes, princesses,[210] tradesmen, high officials[211] and others, including persons said to belong to low castes.[212]

Mahāvīra died in 527 BC at the age of seventy-two[213] at a place called Majjhima Pāvā or modern Pavapuri in the Patna district.[214] He died in the house of king Hastipāla.[215] This indicates that contrary to his usual practice, Mahāvīra probably resided inside the town at that time because of illness.[216] We are told that on the night of his death the kings of Malla and Licchavi clans celebrated the lamp festival in his honour.[217] The Jaina tradition traces

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205. *JAA*, I, p. 23.
206. *Ibid.*
207. *Ibid.*
208. *HJM*, pp. 69-70 fn. 92.
209. *Ibid.*
210. *JAA*, I, p. 23; *HJM*, pp. 70-1.
211. *LDJC*, p. 24.
212. *JSS*, p. 21.
213. *ACHI*, p. 101.
214. *AOIU*, p. 415.
215. *Ibid.*
216. *Ibid.*
217. *Ibid.*; *ACHI*, p. 101; *HOIC*, I, p. 162.

the origin of *Dipavali*, the Hindu festival, from this event.[218] It is important to note that the Digambaras deny the authenticity of the details of Mahāvīra's life as embodied in the *Ācārāṅga*, the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Bhagavatī* and, therefore, their account of his life is slightly different.[219]

Teachings of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra

Mahāvīra's career was one of supreme detachment; therefore, he was rightly called Nirgrantha, i.e., a person without chains, internal or external. He preached what he lived. All living beings want to live, and he believed that they have the right to live.[220] Thus, the sanctity of life in all forms constituted the basis of his moral values.[221] Like Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra believed in the eternity of matter.[222] He agreed with Pārśvanātha in holding that self-control is essential for the cessation of *karma*, and also that penance leads to its destruction.[223] Mahāvīra agreed with the four vows enjoined on his disciples by Pārśvanātha, and added the vow of chastity to them. Like Pārśva, Mahāvīra attached great importance to the doctrine of *ahiṁsā*.[224] Mahāvīra also believed that by following the three-fold path of right belief, right knowledge and right conduct liberation from the cycle of birth and death can be achieved.[225]

Contribution of Mahāvīra

The religion advocated by Mahāvīra was not his creation.[226] He was a

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218. *ACHI*, p. 101; *CHAI*, III, p. 281, *TSPC*, VI, p. 351.
219. *CHAI*, III, p. 275.
220. *ACHI*, p. 101.
221. *Ibid.*
222. *AOIU*, p. 411.
223. *Ibid.*
224. *LDJC*, p. 23; *JSS*, p. 21.
225. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-4; *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11; *AAHI*, p. 86.
226. *HJM*, p. 72; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.

reformer rather than the founder of Jainism.[227] As a reformer of an existing religion, Mahāvīra added a few doctrines to those of his predecessor Pārśvanātha.[228] Pārśvanātha had taught four vows; Mahāvīra taught five. Though celibacy, i.e., the vow added by Mahāvīra formed part of Pārśva's vow of non-possession,[229] Mahāvīra probably made it a separate vow.[230] It is highly probable that confession of sin before the teacher was an innovation of Mahāvīra.[231] Mahāvīra had told his disciples that it was he who laid down the principle of nudity.[232] But we learn from the Jaina and non-Jaina accounts that Ṛṣabha also lived naked in the later stage of his life.[233] Mahāvīra made some reforms in the ethical teachings; but it is difficult to ascertain the additions he made to the ontological and psychological system of Pārśvanātha.[234] Most of the features of Jainism suggestive of its primitiveness were already in existence; Mahāvīra merely adopted them.[235]

Jacobi has minimised the contribution of Mahāvīra by stating that unlike Gautama Buddha, who was the founder of a religion, Mahāvīra was merely a reformer of an existing religion.[236] This is an under-assessment of Mahāvīra's role and contribution. He organised the moral and disciplinary aspects of the existing Jaina Church.[237] In all likelihood, Mahāvīra codified an unsystematic mass of belief into a set of rigid rules of conduct for monks and laymen.[238] It

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227. *HJM*, pp. 72-3; *Ibid.*, p. 466; *AOIU* p. 412; *JSS*, p. 21; *LDJC*, p. 22; *CHI*, I, p. 154; *GD*, p. 108.
228. *AOIU*, p. 420.
229. *HJM*, p. 72; *JSS*, p. 14.
230. *AOIU*, p. 420.
231. *Ibid.*
232. *HJM*, p. 73.
233. *Ibid.*; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, *op. cit.*, p. 246 and fn.
234. *AOIU*, p. 420.
235. *Ibid.*
236. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *HJM*, p. 76.
237. *HJM*, p. 72.
238. *AOIU*, p. 420.

was Mahāvīra who showed a decided inclination for the enumeration and classification of rules of conduct.[239]

After attaining omniscience he expressed it to the people in their own language, i.e., Ardha-Māgadhī.[240] Besides the local people, Mahāvīra absorbed almost the entire following of Pārśvanātha in his Church.[241] The practical genius of Mahāvīra is abundantly evident from his reorganisation of the four-fold order of the followers comprising monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen.[242] He led a touring life and came in contact with people belonging to various castes, creeds, etc.[243] He, thus, built a strong laity which displayed extraordinary devotion towards him and went to the extent of even deifying him.[244] In the system established by Mahāvīra both laymen and laywomen could aspire to monkhood by accepting the discipline of the Jaina Church in stages.[245] Thus, unlike Buddhism, Jainism produced a succession of godly men and women through the ages who could endure the storm and stress that drove Buddhism out of India.[246] The moral injunctions prohibiting the eating of animal foods, drinking, gambling, hunting, stealing, adultery and debauchery, have produced high-souled men and women from the Jaina laity.[247] Even these days the Jainas sing the praises of the ideal domestic woman, the chaste Sulasā.[248] Some scholars have attributed the doctrine of Syādvāda to Mahāvīra.[249]

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239. *AOIU*, p. 42.
240. *HJM*, p. 77.
241. *Ibid.*
242. *HOIC*, I, p. 164; *JSS*, p. 21.
243. *HJM*, p. 77.
244. *Ibid.*
245. *HOIC*, I, p. 164.
246. *Ibid.*
247. *Ibid.*
248. *Ibid.*
249. *JSS*, p. 21.

Mahāvīra's principal contribution was to popularise the principle of *ahiṁsā*; on the basis of this he elaborated the ethical code for both monks and householders, and to provide a background to it, he put forth the philosophy of the seven realities (*tattvas*).[250] He admitted all aspirants to the Jaina community, irrespective of their caste and sex, and inaugurated a system of peaceful proselytisation.[251] Mahāvīra left behind him a strongly organised religious order. He had eleven *gaṇadharas* (chief disciples or heads of schools) who seem to have kept the organisation of the Jaina Church under proper discipline.[252] The organisational skill of Mahāvīra and devotion of the *gaṇadharas* kept the Jaina Church in good shape.[253] Due to the incessant efforts of the religious order left behind by Mahāvīra, animal sacrifices lessened and the doctrine of *ahiṁsā* gained popularity.[254]

Mahāvīra appears to have enjoyed considerable following. According to Jaina tradition, at the time of Mahāvīra's death his followers numbered 14,000 monks, 36,000 nuns, and nearly half a million layfollowers[255] — 159,000 laymen and 318,000 laywomen.[256] The monks were headed by Indrabhūti; the nuns by Candanā; the laymen were headed by Śaṅkhaśataka, and the laywomen by Sulasā and Revatī.[257] The numerical strength of the Jainas kept on increasing and Jainism spread to various parts of India.[258]

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250. *CUHI*, I, p. 220.
251. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-1.
252. *JAA*, I, p. 23.
253. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
254. *CUHI*, I, p. 221.
255. *HJM*, p. 70; *JSS*, p. 22.
256. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
257. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
258. *CUHI*, I, p. 221.

4

Post-Mahāvīra Period and the Contribution of Jainism to Indian Culture

MAHĀVĪRA was the head of the entire Jaina community comprising the four orders, i.e., the monks, the nuns, the laymen and the laywomen.[1] He had built-up an excellent cadre of chief disciples or heads of schools known as *gaṇadharas*. These *gaṇadharas* numbered eleven.[2] All of them were brāhmaṇas;[3] two of them belonged to cities, i.e., Rājagṛha and Mithilā, and the rest seem to have come from small settlements in Bihar.[4] Each *gaṇadhara* had several junior disciples under him.[5] All of them were well-versed in the Jaina canon, i.e., the twelve *aṅgas* and the fourteen *pūrvas*.[6] Nine of these eleven *gaṇadharas* died in the life-time of Mahāvīra; the two to survive were Indrabhūti Gautama (Indabhūi Goyama) and Sudharmana (Suhamma).[7] Indrabhūti Gautama died twelve years after the death of Mahāvīra.[8] But Sudharmana lived for twenty years after Mahāvīra's death.[9] According to one tradition, Indrabhūti Gautama became the head of the Jaina Church

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1. *LDJC*, pp. 24-5; *CHAI*, III, p. 282; *CMHI*, II, p. 355.
2. *HJM*, p. 77; *LDJC*, p. 25; *JAA*, I, p. 23.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 77; *JAA*, I, pp. 23-4.
4. *JAA*, I, pp. 23-4.
5. *HJM*, p. 77.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
7. *Ibid.*; *CHAI*, III, p. 281.
8. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
9. *HJM*, p. 78.

after the death of Mahāvīra,[10] and held office for twelve years, i.e., till the time of his death.[11] But according to other accounts, he never held office because he had become a *kevalin*.[12]

It appears that Sudharmana became the head of the Jaina Church after the death of Mahāvīra.[13] The Nirgrantha śramaṇas of the present time are spiritual descendants of Sudharmana.[14] Sudharmana held office for twelve years; he was followed by his pupil Jambūsvāmī, who led the Jaina community for twenty-four years.[15] Mahāvīra had narrated the Jaina canon to Sudharmana; it appears that the latter narrated it to his pupil Jambūsvāmī.[16] Jambūsvāmī was the last of the *kevalins*;[17] both omniscience and *mokṣa* were closed to the mortals after him.[18] The six leaders who followed Jambūsvāmī came to be known as *śruta-kevalins*; they lacked the omniscience of the *kevalins*, but possessed complete knowledge of the scripture.[19] They were followed by *daśapūrvīs*, i.e., leaders who knew ten *pūrvas* of the twelfth *aṅga*.[20] According to an estimate Jambūsvāmī attained *mokṣa* in 403 BC.[21] He was succeeded by Prabhava who was succeeded by Śayambhava.[22] Śayambhava was succeeded by Yaśobhadra.[23] The next leader was

10. *CMHI*, II, p. 355; *CHAI*, III, p. 282.
11. *Ibid*.
12. *Ibid*.
13. *Ibid*., pp. 355-6; *HJM*, p. 78.
14. *HJM*, p. 78; *CHAI*, III, p. 282.
15. *CMHI*, II, p. 356; *Ibid*.
16. *HJM*, p. 78.
17. *TSPC*, VI, p. 354; *CMHI*, II, p. 356; *CHAI*, III, p. 282.
18. *CMHI*, II, p. 356; *CHAI*, III, p. 282.
19. *Ibid*., p. 356.
20. *Ibid*.
21. *Ibid*.; According to another view he died in 463 BC, i.e., 64 years after Mahāvīra's death. See *CHAI*, III, pp. 281-2.
22. *CMHI* II, p. 356; *CHAI*, III. p. 282.
23. *Ibid*.; *Ibid*.

Sambhūtivijaya who was succeeded by Bhadrabāhu in 317 BC.[24]

Spread of Jainism

Available evidence tends to reveal that about 300 BC the Jainas were probably losing their position in eastern India.[25] They, therefore, decided to migrate to other parts of India.[26] In fact, the spread of Jainism was a product of various migrations.[27] It is essential to have an idea of the original extent of Jainism before we turn to the spread of Jainism to various parts of India.

The wanderings of Mahāvīra give us an idea of the original extent of Jainism. It included the kingdoms of Kośala, Videha, Magadha and Aṅga[28] in eastern India. The kingdom of Kośala in Mahāvīra's time corresponded to modern Awadha.[29] It was a big kingdom and its total extent was only a little less than that of France of present times.[30] Videha, too, was a large kingdom. Its capital was Mithilā.[31] The kingdom of Magadha corresponded roughly to south Bihar,[32] and consisted of the modern districts of Patna and Gaya.[33] The kingdom of Aṅga, situated in east Bihar, roughly corresponded to the present districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr,[34] and its capital was Campā.[35]

The six centuries which followed the death of Mahāvīra saw the spread of Jainism to north, west and south India. It maintained its progress and by

24. *CMHI*, II, p. 356; *CHAI*, III, p. 282. According to another view, Bhadrabāhu succeeded Sambhūtivijaya in 357 BC. See *CHAI*, III, p. 282.
25. *CHI*, I, p. 167.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 167 ff; *AOIU*, pp. 417 ff; *HJM*, p. 577.
28. *AOIU*, p. 417.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 4; *AAHI*, p. 56; *CHI*, I. p. 182.
30. *CHI*, I, p. 178.
31. *AOIU*, p. 2.
32. *AAHI*, p. 56.
33. *Ibid.*; *CHI*, I, p. 182.
34. *AOIU*, p. 3.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

the end of the third century AD this religion took firm roots throughout India. Jainism started from its original home in Magadha, and gradually spread to Kalinga to the south-east of Magadha, to Mathurā and Malwa to its west, and the Deccan and south India to its south.[36] Magadha was apparently the most important seat of Jainism in the third century BC.[37] But it lost its hold over Magadha and became prominent in west and south India.[38] Jainism had won royal patronage in north India. But although it gradually lost kingly support in north, it continued to enjoy the patronage of the middle classes, like merchants and bankers, for a long time in north India.[39] After the end of the sixth century AD, India to the south of the Vindhyas became the principal stronghold of Jainism.[40]

The advent of the Gupta dynasty (fourth century AD to sixth century AD) marked the beginning of decline for both Jainism and Buddhism. The paucity of epigraphic records about Jainism in this period and lack of Jaina literary evidence clearly indicate that it was not very prosperous in those days, and this is partly confirmed by the absence of any reference to it in the description of the Chinese traveller Fahien.[41] But some inscriptions of the Gupta period indicate that Jainism continued to be popular among the middle classes.

Jainism in Bihar and Bengal

Jainism was a popular religion in Bihar in the time of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. But, gradually, it lost much of its influence in this land.[42] Bengal seems to have come under the influence of Jainism at an early period. It seems certain that the Sarāka community found in several parts of Bengal

36. *CA*, p. 403.
37. *CMHI*, II, p. 355.
38. *CA*, pp. 403-4.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 404.
40. *Ibid*
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*, p. 405.

originally denoted the Jaina *śrāvaka*s or lay-worshippers.[43] They later embraced Hinduism, but retained a few characteristic traits of Jainism.[44] Mahāvīra was cruelly treated by the people of Lāḍha, which has been identified with Radha in West Bengal.[45] Jainism, however, had followers in West Bengal. This is evident from the discovery of Jaina images from Bengal.[46] The Paharpur copper-plates of AD 478 furnish evidence of the existence of a Jaina *vihāra* and Digambara Jainas in Bengal during the Gupta period.[47] The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the seventh century AD, noticed a large number of Digmbara Jainas in Bengal in the course of his visit to eastern India.[48]

Jainism in Kaliṅga

One early migration of the Jaina community led it to Kaliṅga or Orissa. This is proved by the famous inscription of Kharvela, the king of Orissa.[49] Evidence of this is found in the Śvetāmbara tradition also. It tells that a dreadful famine in Magadha drove the Jaina monks to Kaliṅga.[50] Kharvela was a devout Jaina.[51] He is said to have lived in the second century BC[52] or the first century BC.[53] Kharvela raised the status of Jainism to that of a state religion.[54] Kaliṅga, thus, became on important seat of Jainism[55] and it

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43. *CHAI*, III, p. 285.
44. *Ibid*.
45. *Ibid*.
46. *Ibid*.
47. *EI*, XX, pp. 59-64; *CA*, p. 405; *CHAI*, III, p. 285.
48. *Ibid*., p. 60; Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 195; *CA*, p. 405.
49. *Ibid*., pp. 71-89; *AOIU*, p. 418; *CMHI*, II, p. 362.
50. *AOIU*, p. 418.
51. *EI*, XX, pp. 71-89; *CHI*, I, p. 164; *AOIU*, p. 213.
52. *AOIU*, p. 215; *CMH*, II, p. 362.
53. *Ibid*., p. 216.
54. *HJM*, p. 92.

flourished there for a long time.[56] In fact, Kharvela's Hāthīgumphā cave inscription is the first definite evidence of the history of Jainism in Orissa.[57] There is a reference in the Hāthīgumbhā inscription to the removal of a *jina* image from Kaliṅga to Pāṭaliputra by the Magadhan king Nanda at the time of his invasion of Kaliṅga.[58] The Nanda kings ruled in the fourth century BC. It is, thus, evident that Jainism existed in an established form in Kaliṅga even before the time of the Nanda rulers of Magadha.[59]

The Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills of Orissa are strewn with caves for the monks. Some of them contain inscriptions which may go back to the Mauryan age.[60] They provide sufficient evidence that Jainism was in a flourishing condition in Orissa in the second-third century BC.[61] The Satghara caves in Bihar and Navmuni and Ananta caves of Orissa contain beautiful friezes and symbols pertaining to the Jaina *tīrthaṁkara*s.[62] The Rānīgumphā cave sculptures of Orissa exhibit the procession of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthaṁkara*.[63] The caves of Orissa contain worn-out images of other *tīrthaṁkara*s also.[64] In the seventh century AD the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang found considerable number of Jainas in Orissa.[65] Generally speaking, royal patronage to Jainism in Kaliṅga lasted up to the sixteenth century AD.[66] But it never recovered the position it enjoyed during the reign of Kharvela.[67]

55. *CMHI*, II, p. 362.
56. *AOIU*, p. 418.
57. *HJM*, p. 92.
58. *EI*, XX, pp. 71-89.
59. *HJM*, p. 93.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*
65. *CHAI*, III, p. 287.
66. *HJM*, p. 97.
67. *CHAI*, III, p. 287.

Jainism in Uttar Pradesh

One of the migrations of the Jaina community brought it to Mathurā at an early period.[68] Jainism obtained a firm footing in Mathurā by the second century BC,[69] and in the early centuries of the Christian era this city became the most renowned centre of Jainism in north India.[70] We shall turn to the history of Jainism in Mathurā in the following chapters of this book.

Jainism in Bundelkhand

Khajuraho, a village in the Chatarpur district of Madhya Pradesh,[71] was the capital of the Candella dynasty of Bundelkhand from the ninth century AD to the thirteenth century AD.[72] Eighty-five temples were constructed at Khajuraho[73] between AD 950 and AD 1050.[74] Nearly one-third of the extant temples at Khajuraho,[75] which number twenty[76] or between twenty and thirty[77] or more than thirty,[78] are Jaina temples.[79] According to V.A. Smith, Khajuraho temples were erected by the order of the Candella rulers.[80] But Percy Brown is of opinion that the Candella rulers merely extended patronage

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68. *AOIU*, p. 418; *CMHI*, II, p.363.
69. *JAA*, I, p. 51; *CHI*, I, p. 167.
70. *CMHI*, II, p. 355.
71. Vidya Prakash, *Khajuraho — A Study in the Cultural Conditions of Chandella Society*, 1967, p. 1.
72. *ASIAR* (1922-3), p. 83.
73. *Mārg*, vol. X, p. 19; Louis Fredric, *Indian Temples and Sculptures*, 1959, p. 294.
74. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, p. 109; *Marg*, vol. X, p. 1; N.S. Bose, *History of the Candellas of Jejakbhukti*, 1956, p. 162.
75. Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 10; N.S. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 163; *HIEA*, p. 452.
76. *Marg*, X, p.19; Max-Pol Fouchet, *The Erotic Sculpture of India,* p. 68; *The Art of the Chandelas*, ed. A. Goswami, 1957, Foreword.
77. *HOFA*, p. 28.
78. Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 8; *HIEA*, p. 452.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 10; *Ibid.*, p. 452; N.S. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
80. N.S. *op. cit.*, p. 163.

to these temples.[81] The fact that numerous Jaina temples were constructed at Khajuraho is indicative of the popularity of Jainism in this part of Bundelkhand in the early medieval period. The discovery of Jaina sculptures from Gwalior[82] also furnishes proof of the existence or popularity of Jainism in Bundelkhand in the medieval period. Considerable Jaina antiquities have been discovered at Deogadh also.[83]

Jainism in Malwa

Malwa or the region around Ujjain[84] also became a stronghold of Jainism.[85] Samprati, a grandson of the Maurya king Aśoka, was the ruler of Ujjain.[86] And, if we believe in the story of Samprati's conversion to Jainism,[87] the spread of this religion to Malwa must be placed as early as the second century BC.[88] The famous story of Kālkācārya, the Jaina saint, implies the spread of Jainism in Malwa in the first century BC.[89]

Jainism appears to have been popular among the middle classes in Malwa and the region near it even in the Gupta period. The Udayagiri inscription of Malwa (AD 426), belonging to the reign of the Gupta ruler Kumaragupta, records the erection of a statue of Pārśva by a private individual.[90] The Kahaum inscription of the time of the Gupta ruler Skandagupta (bearing AD 461) refers to the installation of images of five

81. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu Periods*, 2nd rev. and enlarged edn., p. 133.
82. *HIEA*, pp. 243-5; *HOFA*, p. 268.
83. *JPV*, p. 21.
84. *AOIU*, P. 418.
85. *CHI*, I, p. 167; *AOIU*, p. 418; *CMHI*, II, p. 363.
86. *HJM*, p. 91.
87. *Ibid.*; *AOIU*, p. 418.
88. *AOIU*, p. 418.
89. *Ibid.*
90. *CII*, III, p. 251; *CA*, p. 404; *CHAI*, III, p. 286.

Jaina *tīrthaṁkaras* in the village of Kakubha, i.e., modern Kahaum.[91]

Jainism in Rajasthan

Scholars have discovered about 1200 Jaina inscriptions from various parts of Rajasthan.[92] The earliest of these inscriptions seems to belong to the fifth century BC.[93] Jainism appears to have spread to Rajasthan in the second century BC.[94] Prevalence of Jainism in Rajasthan can be attested by the inscriptions of the Cahamanas, Cudasamas, Guhils, Rawals, Rathods, and the rulers of the Surya dynasty.[95] Most of these rulers were devotees of Sūrya and Śiva, but they do not seem to have obstructed devotion to Jainism.[96]

Gujarat and Rajasthan were among the notable strongholds of Jainism, particularly of the Śvetāmbaras, and they are more numerous in these states than other regions of India. Jainism owed its popularity in this part of India mainly to the patronage of the Cālukya rulers of Gujarat, whose kingdom at one time extended over the whole of modern Gujarat and a large part of Rajasthan.[97] The Gurjara-Pratihāras, the earliest great royal dynasty of Rajasthan, appear to have been patrons of Jainism, because King Vatsarāja of this dynasty is mentioned in the Jaina work *Kuvalayamālā* camposed in AD 778 and the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* of Jinasena composed in AD 783.[98] Rajput rulers of many other dynasties are said to have patronised Jainism in Rajasthan.[99]

91. *CII*, III, pp. 65-8; *CA.*, pp. 404-5; *CHAI*, III, p. 286.
92. *JIR*, p. 3.
93. *Ibid.*
94. *Ibid.*, Preface, vii.
95. *HJM*, p. 114.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
97. *CHAI*, III, p. 292.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *JIR*, pp. 200ff.

Jainism in Gujarat

According to the Jaina tradition, the association of Jainism with Gujarat goes back to remote antiquity. Neminātha, the twenty-second *tīrthaṁkara*, is said to have died on Mount Girnar in Gujarat. The migration of the Jainas from the kingdom of Magadha to western India probably began about 300 BC; they settled in western parts of India like Gujarat, and have retained their settlements to the present times.[100] The famous Junagarh inscription of Rudrasiṁha I[101] or Rudradāman,[102] which belongs to the second century AD, contains the earliest reference to the Jaina monks claiming the attainment of perfect knowledge.[103] The Bawa Pyara caves at Junagarh contain Jaina symbols like the *svastika*, *bhadrāsana*, *nandīpada*, *mīnayugala* and others, which bear resemblance with those found on the *āyāga-paṭṭa*s discovered from the site of the Jaina *stūpa* of Mathurā.[104] Another indication of the early Jaina settlement in Kathiawad is provided by the Jaina images found at Dhank.[105] Scholars have identified these images with the figures of Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra.[106] The caves found at Dhank which contain these sculptures belong to about the second century AD.[107] It, therefore, seems certain that Jainism obtained a strong foothold in Gujarat by the second century AD.[108]

The presence of the Jainas in Gujarat in the early medieval period is indicated by literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence.[109] The early

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100. *CHI*, I, p. 167.
101. *AOIU*, pp. 418-19.
102. *Ibid.*
103. *Ibid.*
104. *HJM*, p. 110.
105. *Ibid.*; *AOIU*, pp. 418-19.
106. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
107. *AOIU*, pp. 418-19.
108. *Ibid.*
109. *CA*, p. 406.

royal dynasties of Gujarat did not show any noticeable favour to Jainism and it remained the religion of the merchant classes. Much of the work of preaching and preserving this faith was done by the monks. But due to the patronage of the kings, Jainism attained splendour in Gujarat in the eleventh and the twelfth century AD.[110] Jaina influence at the court of the Cālukya kings of Gujarat can be noticed from the time of the founder of this dynasty.

During the reign of Bhima I, his minister Vimala built the magnificent Ādinātha temple at Mount Abu. Jainism became more dominant at the Calukya court during the reign of Siddharaja and his successor Kumarapala. Under the influence of Hemacandra (AD 1088-1172), the most learned man of his time, Kumarapala enriched Gujarat with numerous Jaina shrines.[111] During Kumarapala's reign, Gujarat became a stronghold of Jainism in respect of followers as well as institutions.[112] The secret of this success was not fanatic zeal, but the promotion of understanding between different faiths.[113] The promotion of understanding between different faiths is the corner-stone of Jainism, and it was particularly emphasised by Hemacandra in word as well as in deed.[114] The continuity of Jainism and the prosperity of its followers in Gujarat are evident from the construction of the magnificent Neminātha temple at Mount Abu by Tejpala, who was a minister of the Calukya king Somasiṁhadeva.[115] The temple of Ādinātha at Mount Abu was completed in AD 1032 and that of Neminātha in AD 1232.[116]

Jainism in the Deccan and south India

From the available evidence nothing certain can be said about the state of

110. *CA*, p. 406.
111. *SFE*, p. 428.
112. *Ibid.*; *ACHI*, p. 102.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 428.
114. *Ibid.*
115. *Ibid.*
116. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesion Art*, 1927, p. 111.

Jainism in the Deccan at least from the fourth century BC to the beginning of the Christian era.[117] Jaina literary evidence credits the spread of Jainism from Ujjain to the Deccan and further south to Aśoka's grandson Samprati; but we have no evidence to corroborate the Jaina tradition.[118] But this is certain that the ruling dynasties of the Deccan provided greater support to Jainism than their counterparts in north India.[119] It is only from the time of the Calukya rulers and their successors that we get a fairly clear picture of the state of Jainism in the Deccan.[120] Epigraphic and archaeological evidence indicates that Jainism was in a flourishing condition in the Deccan from AD 500 to 950.[121] Jainism enjoyed the patronage of many Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers,[122] some of whom were devout Jainas.[123] Some feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers also extended patronage to Jainism.[124] Dr. A.S. Altekar is of opinion that probably one-third of the population of the Deccan professed Jainism between the eighth century AD and the tenth century AD.[125]

The spread or extension of Jainism to south India is generally attributed to the migration of the Digambaras to this part of the country.[126] We have already stated that Bhadrabāhu, the last of the *śruta-kevalin*s, became the head of the Jaina Church in 317 BC. Bhadrabāhu predicted that a famine of twelve years' duration would ravage north India; he, therefore, decided to migrate to south India with his followers.[127] Scholars of south Indian history have mostly accepted the late Digambara tradition that the great famine of

117. *HJM*, p. 114.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
119. *CA*, pp. 403-6.
120. *HJM*, p. 116.
121. *AOIK*, p. 287; *JSAI*, pp. 245-7.
122. *HJM*, p. 117; *Ibid.*, p. 247; *ACHI*, p. 102; *MJ*, p. 30.
123. *Ibid.*; *ACHI*, p. 102.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 118.
125. Dr. A.S. Altekar, cited in *AOIK*, p. 287 and *JSAI*, p. 247.
126. *AOIU*, p. 419; *MJ*, pp. 3-4.
127. *Ibid.*; *CHAI*, III, p. 282; *HJM*, p. 81.

Magadha compelled Bhadrabāhu to seek shelter in south India; he along with his followers and his royal disciple Candragupta Maurya migrated to south India, and this led to the establishment of the Digambara community in Mysore, with Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa as its centre.[128] B.A. Saletore writes,

> Southern tradition, which is corroborated by literary and epigraphic evidence, connects the advent of Jainism into Karnaṭaka and south India with the immigration of the Jainas under Bhadrabāhu and his disciple Candragupta Maurya.[129]

According to many Jaina authors, Bhadrabāhu died in Karnataka in 297 BC.[130] But many authors discredit this account,[131] and assert that Bhadrabāhu retired to Nepal.[132]

According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the Jaina migration to south India began from Ujjaiyini in Malwa, and this is corroborated by the early Digambara tradition.[133] Among the different sects of south India, the Senagaṇa of the Mulasaṁgha may have been the first migrating group of the Jainas.[134] The route of their migration is suggested to be along the western coast, from Gujarat, through Maharashtra to Karnataka, and from there to the extreme south.[135] H.D. Sankalia is of opinion that it may not be wrong to suppose that the first wave of Jainism passed over Gujarat-Kathiawad when Bhadrabāhu went to the south in the fourth century BC.[136] In fact, the evidence regarding the Jaina migration to south India does not lead to any definite conclusion. Some scholars hold that Jainism reached the Andhra region from the north

128. *AOIU*, p. 419; *HJM*, p. 83.
129. *MJ*, pp. 3-4.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
131. *CHAI*, III, p. 282.
132. *HJM*, p. 19; *LDJC*, p. 32; *CHI*, I, p. 165.
133. *AOIU*, p. 419.
134. *Ibid.*
135. *Ibid.*
136. H.D. Sankalia, cited in *HJM*, p. 110 fn. 297.

as early as the sixth century BC, and that its association with the Tamil region dates from the fourth century BC.[137]

But this is certain that Jainism was one of the powerful influences that moulded the religious and cultural life of south India in the ancient and medieval period of its history.[138] Jainism played a significant role in the political life of south India also. Epigraphic records and literature of Karnataka, Telugu and Tamil lands reveal that Jainism made a remarkable contribution to the success and stability of many kingdoms in south India, including the magnificent Vijayanagara empire.[139] Karnataka was the favourite resort of Jainism in south India for nearly one thousand years; the area from Bidar in the north to Mysore in the south in Karnataka is replete with the antiquities of Jainism.[140] These antiquities bear testimony to the glory of Jainism in this part of India. For nearly twelve centuries (second century AD to thirteenth century AD), Jainism guided the fortunes of some of the most powerful and well-known royal families of Karnataka.[141] Many rulers of the Gaṅga,[142] the Kadamba,[143] the Rāṣṭrakūṭa[144] and the western Calukya[145] dynasties of south India patronised Jainism. It was also patronised by the feudatories of the kings of Karnataka.[146]

Jainism in other parts of India

We have already stated that both Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra had preached

137. *JISI*, Preface, ix.
138. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
139. *MJ*, p. 2.
140. *JISI*, Preface x.
141. *MJ*, p. 6.
142. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-30; *JSAI*, p. 247; *CA*, pp. 406-7; *CHAI*, III, p. 289; *HJM*, pp. 123-4; *ACHI*, p. 102.
143. *Ibid.*, p. 30; *HJM*, pp. 124-6; *JSAI*, p. 247; *ACHI*, p. 102.
144. *HJM*, p. 117; *JSAI*, p. 247; *MJ*, p. 30; *ACHI*, p. 102.
145. *SFE*, p. 429; *JSAI*, p. 247; *MJ*, p. 42; *CHAI*, III, p. 289; *HJM*, pp. 119-20; *ACHI*, p. 102.
146. *MJ*, p. 87.

Jainism in the eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh. Subsequently, it spread to western Uttar Pradesh also. The discovery of Jaina images in large numbers from Fatehpur Sikri and Kagaraul in west Uttar Pradesh and from many places in Haryana have furnished evidence of the prevalence of Jainism in these regions also.[147] There are indications that Jainism spread to other parts of north India also, including the Punjab.[148] It is important to note that the spread of Jainism was not confined to India. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in the seventh century AD, found the followers of Jainism even beyond the frontiers of India, i.e., in Kapiśā.[149]

Schisms in the Jaina Church

The tendency to form a dissenting opinion was prevalent in the lifetime of Mahāvīra. His disciple Gosāla had separated from him and founded the Ājīvika sect.[150] Two schisms (*nihnava*s) are said to have occurred in Mahāvīra's lifetime.[151] The trend continued. In all, seven[152] or eight,[153] schisms occurred in the Jaina Church. According to the Śvetāmbaras, there were eight schisms in the Jaina Church; the first of these was caused by Mahāvīra's son-in-law Jamāli, and the eighth schism gave rise to the Digambara sect.[154] But the Digambaras seem to be ignorant of the earlier schisms; they hold that it was the rise of the sect of Ardhaphālaks under Bhadrabāhu which developed into the Śvetāmbara sect in AD 80.[155]

It has already been stated that Bhadrabāhu, who had become the head

147. *Amar Ujālā*, Āgrā, April, 2000.
148. *CHAI*, III, p. 286.
149. S. Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 63; *HOIC*, I, p. 167; *OISJ*, p. 4 fn. 4.
150. *AOIU*, pp. 414-15; *AAHI*, p. 85; *CHI*, I, pp. 158-9.
151 *LDJC*, pp. 25-6; *JAA*, I, p. 24; *HJM*, p. 79.
152. *AOIU*, p. 416; *JSS* p. 23; *LDJC*, pp. 25-6.
153. *ERE*, VII, p. 473; *HJM*, p. 78.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 473.
155. *Ibid.*

of the Jaina church in 317 BC, had predicted that a famine of twelve years' duration would ravage northern India. Therefore, Bhadrabāhu entrusted the monks who did not wish to follow him to the charge of his colleague Sthūlabhadra, and migrated to south India with 12,000 followers.[156] After reaching Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in Mysore, Bhadrabāhu designated Viśākha as his successor, and ended his life by starvation.[157] It is generatly believed by the Jaina authors that Bhadrabāhu died in Karnataka in 297 BC.[158] But some others hold that he retired to Nepal where he spent his time in austerities.[159]

The famine raged in north India. The monks who had stayed back adopted some modifications in the rules of their conduct.[160] They wore white robes and also a peculiar head-dress known as *ardhaphālaka*.[161] When the famine ended and normal conditions returned, some of the monks who had migrated to the south and had remained faithful to the law of nudity, came back to north India.[162] They objected to the new modes, introduced by the monks who had stayed back in north India.[163] Viśākha and Sthūlabhadra tried hard to keep them together; but separatist tendencies proved stronger, and this led to a definitive schism between the two groups in about AD 80.[164] Those who wore white dress and the headgear called *ardhaphālaka* came to be known as Ardhaphālakas, and later as the Śvetāmbaras, and those who believed in nudity came to be known as the Digambaras.[165] The story outlined above is embodied in *Bhadrabāhucarita* of Ratnanandin, a work of the

156. *CMHI*, II, p. 356; *CHAI*, III, p. 282.
157. *Ibid.*, p. 356.
158. *MJ*, p. 3.
159. *HJM*, p. 19; *LDJC*, p. 32; *CHI*, I, p. 165.
160. *CMHI*, II, p. 357.
161. *Ibid.*
162. *Ibid.*
163. *Ibid.*
164. *Ibid.*
165. *Ibid.*

fifteenth century AD, and scholars like Jacobi are inclined to accept it as true.[166]

The causes of dissent in most of these schisms pertained to minor points in the doctrines of Jainism. Therefore, these schisms left no permanent mark on the Jaina community. But the last schism produced serious consequences. It was a split which divided the Jaina community into two sects — the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara — and each of these two sects claimed greater authenticity than the other. This split left a mark on the pattern of the development of Jainism, on its regional spread, monastic practices, iconography, etc.[167] After this division became well-established, the differences between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras centred around numerous subjects.

Causes of the split in Jainism

The Śvetāmbara and the Digambara accounts are at variance with each other regarding the causes of this split.[168] These accounts appear to be products of sectarian hatred.[169] Literary writings and early sculptures prove that[170] most of the differences between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras were outcome of historical growth.[171] The Jainas who lived in various parts of India remained isolated from each other for long because of the vastness of the country; they, therefore, developed different beliefs and customs, and became aware of these differences about the end of the first century AD.[172] According to one tradition, this split occurred in AD 79 and according to another in AD 82.[173] In view of this some date about AD 80 should be accepted

166. *CMHI*, II, pp. 356-7.
167. *HJM*, pp. 79ff.; *AOIU*, p. 416; *ACHI*, p. 102.
168. *LDJC*, pp. 26-9; *JSS*, pp. 39-45; *HJM*, pp. 80-3; *JIR*, pp. 54-5.
169. *AOIU*, p. 416; *HJM*, p. 83.
170. *Ibid.*, p. 416.
171. *Ibid.*; *ERE*, VII, p. 473; *JSS*, p. 45; *LDJC*, p. 28.
172. *ERE*, VII, p. 473.
173. *GD*, p. 108; *CHAI*, III, p. 297 fn. 4; *JIR*, p. 54; *CMHI*, II, p. 362.

as the date which divided the Jaina community into two sects, i.e., the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara.[174]

It is important to note that prior to this split the Jainas had lived together without any apparent discord.[175] It is, therefore, pertinent to ponder over the causes of this split. It has often been suggested that the divergent practice of wearing a white robe or going out naked caused this split, and this gave these two sects their names; — those who put on white robes came to be known as the Śvetāmbaras, and those who preferred or believed in the practice of nudity were called the Digambaras.[176] This split is also assigned to differences between the practices of Mahāvīra and Pārśva, or to the more austere life of Mahāvīra's pupil Gosāla, and also to the events caused by the great famine in Magadha resulting in the migration of a section of the Jaina community to south India.[177]

There is little substance in these reasonings. Both sects of Jainism hold that Gosāla's teachings had nothing to do with this split.[178] Reconciliation regarding the use of clothes and the practice of nudity had already been achieved in the lifetime of Mahāvīra.[179] Option allowing two modes of behaviour known as Jinakalpa and Sthavirakalpa was also open to the Jainas.[180] It appears that isolated groups of Jainas who insisted on the harder course of life had existed from the very beginning.[181] The split in the Jaina community possibly arose due to subsequent differences regarding ascetic practices.[182]

174. *CMHI*, II, p. 357. According to the Śvetāmbaras, the split occurred in AD 142. See *CHAI*, III, p. 282; *CMHI*, II, p. 362.
175. *CMHI*, II, p. 357.
176. *HJM*, p. 83.
177. *Ibid.*
178. *Ibid.*; *AOIU*, p. 413.
179. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *LDJC*, p. 28.
180. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
181. *HJM*, pp. 83-4; *AOIU*, p. 413.
182. *ACHI*, pp.101-2.

The Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras

The points of difference between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras are numerous.

1. The Śvetāmbaras believe in the tale that Mahāvīra's embryo was transferred from the womb of the brāhmaṇa lady Devānandā, wife of Ṛṣabha, to that of Triśalā.[183] But the Digambaras reject this story.[184]
2. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Mahavīra was married to Yaśodā.[185] But the Digambaras hold that he remained celibate all through his life.[186]
3. The Śvetāmbaras hold that a woman can attain salvation.[187] But the Digambaras believe that a woman can not be a *tīrthaṁkara*.[188]
4. According to the Śvetāmbaras, Malli, the nineteenth *tīrthaṁkara*, was a woman.[189] But the Digambaras hold that Malli was a male[190] and call him Mallinātha.[191]
5. The Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras generally agree in the details regarding the *tīrthaṁkaras*.[192] But they differ in respect of the names of the *yakṣas* and the *yakṣiṇīs* attached to the *tīrthaṁkaras*.[193]
6. The Digambaras enlist most of the sixteen vidyādevīs or goddesses of

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183. *CHI*, I, pp. 157-8.
184. *Ibid.*
185. *Ibid.*, p. 158; *JSS*, p. 20; *AOIU*, p. 413; *AAHI*, p. 85.
186. *JSS*, p. 20 fn. 8; *HJM*, p. 66 fn. 57; *CHAI*, III, p. 277.
187. *JPV*, p. 183; *JAA*, I, p. 15 fn. 1; *JI*, pp. 14-15.
188. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16 fn; *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15; *OISJ*, p. 4 fn. 2.
189. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, p. 15 fn1; *Ibid.*
190. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*, p. 16 fn; *Ibid.*; pp. 14-15, 77.
191. *JI*, pp. 14-15, 77; *JAA*, I, p. 16 fn.
192. *OISJ*, p. 64.
193 *Ibid.*

knowledge among the *yaksiṇīs*, but the Śvetāmbaras include only a few of them.[194]

7. Another belief peculiar to the Digambaras is that after obtaining *kevala-jñāna* a saint can sustain life without nourishment.[195]

8. According to the present Digambara custom, a priest in a Digambara temple must be a Jaina, but in a Śvetāmbara temple the priest can be, and usually is, a brāhmaṇa.[196]

9. The Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras also differ on the number of moveable and immoveable beings.[197]

10. The Digambara images of the *tīrthaṁkaras* are represented nude,[198] but the Śvetāmbaras represent the images of the *tīrthaṁkaras* clothed and decorated with crowns and ornaments.[199]

11. The Śvetāmbaras are extremely careful of all animal life, but the Digambaras are moderately careful.[200]

12. The Digambaras bathe their images profusely, but the Śvetāmbaras use very little water for bathing their images.[201]

13. The Digambaras bathe and worship their images at night, but the Śvetāmbaras are opposed to this practice; they do not even light lamps in their temples.[202]

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194. *OISJ*, pp. 64-5.
195. *CHAI*, III, p. 298 fn. 2.
196. *Ibid.*, p. 299 fn. 1.
197. *AOIU*, p. 416.
198. *OISJ*, p. 65; *JI*, pp. 14-15; *DJI*, p. 34.
199. *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*
200. *DJI*, p. 35.
201. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
202. *Ibid.*, p. 36. Some Jaina customs and practices appear to vary from region to region. Some Śvetāmbara and Digambara practices mentioned by James Burgess in '*Digambara Jaina Iconography*' (*DJI*), are probably prevalent among the South Indian Jainas only. See *DJI*, pp. 34-6.

14. The Digambaras wash their images with the *pañcāmṛta*, but the Śvetāmbaras do not observe this practice.[203]

15. The Digambaras say their prayers in the Hindu fashion, but the Śvetāmbaras close their mouth or tie a cloth over their lips.[204]

16. The Digambaras paint their caste-marks on their foreheads, but the Śvetāmbaras do not.[205]

17. Although the Digambaras hold in high esteem the tradition about the twelve *aṅga*s and the fourteen *pūrva*s, they disown the Jaina canon as fixed by the Śvetāmbaras.[206]

18. The Śvetāmbaras assert that there are 12 heavens and 64 Indras, but the Digambaras maintain that there are 16 heavens and 100 olympian monarchs.[207]

19. The Śvetāmbaras allow their teachers to eat out of vessels, but the Digambara teachers take food in their hands from their disciples.[208]

20. The Śvetāmbaras use flowers, sweets, etc., in their *pūjā*; the Digambaras use spices, dry fruits, etc., for this purpose.[209]

21. The Digambaras consider absolute nudity as an indispensable sign of holiness, but the advance of civilisation has compelled them to depart from the practice of nudity.[210] It is difficult to ascertain as to when the present custom of wearing clothes started among the Digambaras. From the account of Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese traveller, it appears that the Digambaras were faithful to the law of nudity even up to the

203. *DJI*, p. 36.
204. *Ibid.*
205. *Ibid.* This is a custom among south Indian Jainas. See *AOIK*, p. 295.
206. *HJM*, p. 34.
207. *JI*, pp. 14-15.
208. *Ibid.*
209. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
210. *OISJ*, p. 2 fn. 2.

beginning of the seventh century AD.[211]

Sub-divisions of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras

The Jainas are divided into the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. These two sects are sub-divided into numerous schools and groups.[212] Some Jaina sects are opposed to idol-worship.[213] For example, the Loṅkā sect, the Sthānakavāsī sect,[214] the Tāraṇpanthī sect of the Digambaras and the Terāpanthī sect of the Śvetāmbaras do not worship idols.[215] K.C. Jain is of opinion that Muslim invasions of India affected Jainism in two ways; — these invasions united the Jainas for self-defence, and also drove away many Jainas from idolatory.[216] But the fact should not be lost sight of that reform movements have been a characteristic feature of Indian life from an early period; the Jainas who opposed idol-worship had no need to look to Islam for inspiration.[217]

The Yāpanīyas and the Draviḍa Saṁgha

Another sect of Jainism was called the Yāpanīya. It has been held that this sect arose in the early centuries of the Christian era after the Jaina community's division into the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras.[218] This sect existed for about two centuries and its influence was confined to Karnataka.[219] The Draviḍa Saṁgha was another sect of Jainism and its influence was confined to the Tamil land.[220] It appears to have been an off-shoot of the Mula

211. *OISJ*, p. 2 fn. 2.
212. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2; *JSS*, pp. 49 ff; *JIR*, pp. 90-1.
213. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JI*, p. 15; *JIR*, pp. 90-3.
214. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
215. *JIR*, pp. 90-3.
216. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
217. *ROAI*, p. 123.
218. *CHAI*, III, p. 299.
219. *Ibid.*
220. *Ibid.*

Saṁgha.[221] The Draviḍa Saṁgha also proved short lived.[222]

Estimate of the split in Jainism

The division of the Jaina community into the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras affected the monks as well as the laity.[223] But the basic religious principles remained the same for both the sects.[224] Almost all points of difference were minor, if not trivial.[225] Consequently, although there was a split, the crack was not wide enough to demolish the edifice.[226] The Jainas differed on some minor points of doctrine and discipline, but on the whole they adhered to the main principles of Jainism.[227] Less serious doctrinal differences among the Christians led to prolonged bloody conflicts in Europe, but strict adherence to *ahiṁsā* prevented the Jainas from similar acts.[228] In fact, the points of difference were thrashed out in a debating hall. Some minor changes occurred in Jainism, but no fundamental change is visible up to the present times.[229] In spite of their differences, the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras are one regarding the arrangement of their communities, doctrine, discipline and cult, at least in respect of more important points, and, thus, one can always speak of Jainism as a whole.[230]

Jainism passed through many storms and upheavals from time to time. But it did not perish. It is still a living religion. This reveals the adaptability of Jainism to constantly changing environments.[231] One of the chief causes

221. *CHAI*, III, p. 299.
222. *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.
223. *ACHI*, p. 102.
224. *Ibid.*; *JSS*, p. 141; *ERE*, VII, p. 473.
225. *CHAI*, III, p. 299.
226. *Ibid.*
227. *JSS*, p. 141.
228. *CHAI*, III, p. 299.
229. *AOIU*, p. 420.
230. *OISJ*, p. 3.
231. S.D. Jha, *op. cit.*, Retrospect.

of the survival of Jainism is the inflexible conservatism of its followers. The Jainas have stuck to their original doctrines and institutions. The religious life of the Jainas is substantially the same as it was two thousand years ago.[232] But the proverbial conservatism of Jainism has been allied to dynamism.[233] It has adapted itself to changing circumstances.[234] For instance, Jainism made an effective rapproachment with Hinduism.[235] It is because of its power of adaptability that Jainism has preserved its entity and identity through the ages.[236] Jainism did not snap the bonds between the laity and the monks. It also did not put its destiny in the hands of the monks and monastic establishments completely.[237] Unlike Buddhism, Jainism insisted upon the active participation of the laity in the affairs of the Jaina Church.[238] It was because of these qualities that Jainism could face occasional Hindu opposition and Muslim persecution to survive to the present times.[239]

The Councils and the compilation of the Jaina canon

The Jaina tradition attributes the canon to the *arhats*.[240] According to the Jaina belief, the ultimate source of all knowledge is the *Dvādaśāṅga-śruta*, which was taught by the various *tīrthaṁkaras*, the last of whom was Mahāvīra.[241] The Jaina canon is divided into two parts — the Śvetāmbara canon and the Digambara canon.

232. *CHI*, I, p. 169; *IP*, p. 71.
233. S.D. Jha, *op. cit.*, Retrospect.
234. *Ibid.*
235. *HOIC*, I, p. 167.
236. S.D. Jha, *op. cit*, Retrospect.
237. *HOIC*, I, p. 167.
238. *Ibid.*, pp. 164-7; *IP*, p. 71.
239. *HOIC*, I, p. 167.
240. *HJM*, p. 18.
241. *JSAI*, p. 14.

The Śvetāmbara canon

There is no unanimity among scholars regarding the number of books which constitute the canon of the Śvetāmbara Jainas.[242] Scholars like Winternitz and Weber hold that the canon of the Śvetāmbaras consists of 12 *Aṅgas*, 12 *Upāṅgas*, 10 *Paiṇṇas*, 6 *Cheya-suttas*, 4 *Mūla-suttas*, and two miscellaneous texts called *Nandi* and *Aṇuyogdāra*.[243] This view is generally accepted by scholars.[244]

The Śvetāmbara canon together with its exegetical literature was the outcome of a literary activity which extended from the date of the Pāṭaliputra Council[245] to the seventeenth century AD.[246] Scholars like Winternitz and Jacobi treat this canon as authentic because the traditions embodied in it are corroborated by the inscriptions found at Mathurā and other evidence.[247] But this group of texts called 'Siddhānta' or 'Āgama' is disowned by the Digambaras who treat it as unauthoritative.[248] Taking into consideration the researches of scholars like Jacobi, Weber, Winternitz, Charpentier and others, the Śvetāmbara canon can be arranged in order of descending antiquity into the following manner (1) the *Aṅgas* (2) the *Mūla-sūtras*, (3) the *Cheda-sūtras*, and lastly (4) the *Upāṅgas* and the rest of the canon.[249]

The Digambara canon

The Digambara canon may be broadly divided into the *Aṅgas*, the *Aṅgbāhyas*

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242. *HJM*, p. 16.
243. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.
244. *Ibid.*, p. 16; *LDJC*, p. 31.
245. The Pāṭaliputra Council was summoned by Sthūlabhadra in the third century BC. See *HJM*, p. 18.
246. *HJM*, p. 34.
247. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-3.
248. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
249. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-34.

and the *Anuyogas*.[250] The Digambaras also call the *Anuyogas* as 'the four Vedas'.[251]

Background of the Jaina Councils

It has been already stated that according to the Jaina belief the Jaina canon was taught by Mahāvīra and the *tīrthaṁkaras* who preceded him. It is said that either the *gaṇadharas* of Mahāvīra[252] or his chief disciple Indrabhūti Gautama arranged and classified his teachings into twelve principal divisions called the *Aṅga*.[253] The most important of these *aṅgas* was the twelfth; it was called the *Dṛṣṭi-pravāda* and had five sections.[254] The biggest and the most important of these five sections dealt with the *pūrvas* which were fourteen in number.[255] According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the original Jaina doctrine was contained in the fourteen *pūrvas* or old texts, and this was taught by Mahāvīra to his *gaṇadharas*.[256] Unfortunately, the knowledge of these texts was gradually lost[257], and only a single *gaṇadhara* possessed the knowledge of the *pūrvas*.[258] The work of the Jaina councils should be viewed in the light of these conditions.

The Council of Pāṭaliputra

The loss of the Jaina canon is attributed to the terrible famine which occurred in Magadha during the reign of Candragupta Maurya. It has already been stated that due to famine conditions one section of the Jaina Church migrated to south India under the leadership of Bhadrabāhu, and the other preferred

250. *HJM*, pp. 35-8.
251. *Ibid.*, p. 36; *DJI*, pp. 31-2.
252. *LDJC*, p. 32; *HJM*, p. 18.
253. *JSAI*, p. 14.
254. *Ibid.*
255. *Ibid.*
256. *HJM*, p. 18; *LDJC*, p. 32.
257. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *JSAI*, p. 14.
258. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*

to stay in north India under the leadership of Sthūlabhadra. After the end of the famine and restoration of normal conditions, a council was summoned at Pāṭaliputa[259], early in the third century BC by Sthūlabhadra to collect and co-ordinate the extant portions of the canon, because famine conditions had perhaps made it impossible for the monks to recollect and study their texts properly.[260]

The Pāṭaliputra Council found that the knowledge of the *pūrva*s was lost and that nobody except Bhadrabāhu, who was practising austerities somewhere in Nepal, knew them.[261] The council requested him to reveal his knowledge to others, but he refused to do so.[262] He agreed to teach the *pūrva*s when he was threatened with excommunication. But of the five hundred monks sent to him for the purpose only Sthūlabhadra learnt all the fourteen *pūrva*s from Bhadrabāhu.[263] But Sthūlabhadra was ordered by Bhadrabāhu not to teach the last four *pūrva*s to his successors; consequently, their knowledge was lost to posterity.[264]

The canon fixed by the Pāṭaliputra Council was rejected by the monks who returned to north India from the south. They held that the entire group of the *aṅga*s and the *pūrva*s was lost for good.[265] The Digambaras, therefore, hold that the canon collected by the Pāṭaliputra Council was not genuine. It is not possible to know the exact nature of the canon that was settled by the Pāṭaliputra Council;[266] it appears that it could collect only the *aṅga*s and the ten *pūrva*s.[267]

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259. *HJM*, p. 18; *LDJC*, p. 32; *AOIU*, p. 422; *CMHI*, II, pp. 357-8.
260. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
261. *Ibid.*, p. 19; *LDJC*, p. 32.
262. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
263. *Ibid.*; *LDJC*, p. 32; *AOIU*, p. 422.
264. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
265. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
266. *AOIU*, p. 422.
267. *HJM*, p. 19.

The Mathurā Council

A few centuries later the Jaina canon suffered loss once again. Many Jaina monks died as a result of a great famine in the fourth century AD.[268] Therefore, after the end of the famine a council was held at Mathurā under the presidentship of Arya Skandila and collected available knowledge of the Jaina canon.[269] The Jaina canon compiled by this council is known as Māthurī Vācanā.[270]

The Valabhī Council

According to some scholars, simultaneously another council was held at Valabhī under the presidentship of Nāgārjuna Sūri, who seems to have been a contemporary of Arya Skandila;[271] this council compiled and carefully edited that part of the Jaina canon which had been forgotten.[272] But it appears that Arya Skandila and Nāgārjuna Sūri could not meet for its final verification, and the difference seems to have continued.[273]

The Second Council of Valabhī

The present form of the Śvetāmbara canon owes its compilation and classification to another council at Valabhī which was held in the fifth century AD, 980 or 993 years after Mahāvīra's death.[274] This council met under the presidentship of Devardhigaṇin Kṣamāśramaṇa. In this council the entire Jaina canonical literature was written according to the version of the Mathurā Council,[275] and variants from the followers of Nāgārjuna Sūri

268. *HJM*; p. 20; *LDJC*, pp. 32-3.
269. *Ibid.*, p. 20; *Ibid.*, p. 33.
270. *Ibid.*, p. 21; *Ibid.*, p. 33.
271. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
272. *LDJC*, p. 33.
273. *Ibid.*; *HJM*, p. 21.
274. *Ibid.*; *ibid.* It was held in AD 512 or AD 525. See *CA*, p. 410. The popular view is that it was held in the fifth century AD.
275. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

and others were also recorded.[276] But this council failed to trace the twelfth *aṅga* which was said to have contained the *pūrvas*.[277]

Review of the Jaina canon

The traditional Jaina canon, thus, consists of two sets — the Śvetāmbara canon and the Digambara canon. The Digambaras claim to have preserved in their canonical texts most of the twelfth *aṅga* and its *pūrva*s together with fragments from the other *aṅga*s.[278] The Śvetāmbaras claim that they have preserved most of the remaining eleven *aṅga*s in their *sūtras*.[279] A comparative study of the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara canon reveals considerable similarity. Both of them inherited and drew from a common stock which existed before the split in the Jaina Saṁgha; this is proved by many verses and passages which are common in both sets.[280]

The tradition about the *aṅga*s and the fourteen *pūrva*s is common to both sects of Jainism; both hold the *aṅga*s in equal esteem.[281] The names of some of the texts of the Aṅgabāhiras of the Digambaras and the Mūla-sūtras and the Cheda-sūtras of the Śvetāmbaras are similar.[282] Examples can be multiplied.[283]

Contribution of Jainism

In the course of its long history Jainism has made a remarkable contribution to Indian culture. The period from the fifth century AD to the tenth century

276. *LDJC*, p. 33; *HJM*, p. 21; *CA*, p. 411. The Jaina canon took its final shape in the Second Council at Valabhī. See *CA*, p. 411.
277. *HJM*, p. 21.
278. *JSAI*, p. 15.
279. *Ibid.*
280. *Ibid.*
281. *HJM*, p. 36.
282. *Ibid.*
283. For further similarity between the canon of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras see *HJM*, pp. 36-7.

AD was the most flourishing in the history of Jainism, at least in south India,[284] and the greatest contribution of Jainism to Indian culture was made in the period which extended from the first century BC to the tenth century AD.[285]

AHIṀSĀ

The most important contribution of Jainism in the cultural field is the doctrine of *ahiṁsā*. Jainism preached the doctrine of *ahiṁsā* in a more extreme form than Buddhism, but it produced no emasculating effects upon its followers.[286] Jainism produced men who turned *ahiṁsā* into a philosophy of action; records exist which reveal that the Jaina kings and generals distinguished themselves on the battlefield, and also that they were not averse to warfare in pursuance of the Jaina precept of doing one's duty.[287] A.S. Altekar writes,

> In the face of the achievements of Jaina princes and generals of our period, we can hardly subscribe to the theory that Jainism and Buddhism were chiefly responsible for the military emasculation of the population that led to the fall of Hindu India.[288]

In fact, Jainism produced military generals like Kharvela in Kaliṅga,[289] Camuṇda Raya and Śantinatha in Karnataka,[290] Kumarapala in Gujarat,[291] Śamśera Bahadur, etc., in Rajasthan.[292] There is ample evidence of the fact

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284. *JSAI*, p. 245; *AOIK*, p. 287.
285. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
286. *AOIK*, p. 293; *JSAI*, p. 248.
287. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
288. A.S. Altekar, cited in *JSAI*, p. 248.
289. *AOIU*, p. 213; *CMHI*, II, p. 115; *EI*, XX, pp. 71-89.
290. *MJ*, pp. 108ff; *CHAI*, III, pp. 289-92.
291. *SFE*, pp. 76-7.
292 *JIR*, pp. 218-20.

that the Jainas used to enlist in the army in large numbers and distinguish themselves on the battlefield.[293]

Gradually, the doctrine of *ahiṁsā* brought to an end the practice of animal sacrifices in *yajña*s and other Vedic rites.[294] It also popularised vegetarian diet in a large part of India.[295] Respect for the life of living beings which the Jainas showed in their daily lives is said to have influenced the Hindus of the south; they stopped animal sacrifices in their ceremonies and rites and promulgated the cult of *ahiṁsā* in their literature.[296] *Ahiṁsā* became the guiding principle and the regulating force in Rajasthan.[297]

The doctrine of *ahiṁsā* deeply influenced the life and thought of Akbar, the great Mughal emperor.[298] Epigraphical evidence exists that a Śvetāmbara *ācārya* named Hīravijaya Sūri[299] had a great influence on Akbar.[300] Akbar was keen to understand the doctrines of Jainism, and in 1582, he invited Hīravijaya Sūri of Gujarat to his court.[301] Hīravijaya Sūri lived at his court for two years,[302] and Akbar bestowed the title *jagadguru* on him.[303] Due to Hīravijaya's influence, Akbar prohibited animal slaughter[304] near Jaina holy places,[305] freed these places from taxes,[306] released many prisoners, and gave

293. *JSAI*, p. 248.
294. *AOIK*, p. 294.
295. *Ibid.*, p. 294; *JIR*, p. 234.
296. *MJ*, pp. 269-70.
297. *JIR*, p. 234.
298. A.L. Srivastava, *Bhārat Kā Itihāsa* (AD *1000-1707*), 1979, pp. 468-9.
299. *HJM*, p. 135; A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 468; S.R. Sharma, *Bhārat Main Mughal Sāmrājya*, 1973, p. 280.
300. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
301. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 468.
302. *Ibid.*
303. *Ibid.*; S.R. Sharma, *op.cit.*, p. 280; *HJM*, p. 135.
304. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
305. *HJM*, p. 135.
306. *Ibid.*

up meat-eating on some days in the year.[307] Akbar also came in contact with Jaina *ācāryas* like Jinacandra,[308] Siddhicandra,[309] Bhānucandra,[310] Śānticandra, Vijayasena Sūri, Jayasoma Upādhyāya,[311] etc. Akbar was so deeply influenced by the teachings of the Jaina monks that he gave up hunting, of which he was extremely fond of, almost gave up meat-eating and prohibited slaughter of animals and birds for about six months in the year.[312] Slaughter of animals and birds on prohibited days meant capital punishment in Akbar's time.[313] Akbar issued *firmans* to the governors of all provinces of the Mughal empire in India and local officials to strictly enforce the orders issued by him.[314]

In 1582, Akbar promulgated a religion named Din-i-Ilahi; meat-eating was almost prohibited for the members of Din-i-Ilahi; they were also prohibited from the use of vessels belonging to perfessionals like butchers and fishermen.[315] In 1591, Akbar invited the renowned Jaina *ācārya* Jinacandra Sūri to his court.[316] Jinacandra Sūri reached Lahore in 1591, and was cordially received by Akbar in that city.[317] Jinacandra explained the doctrines of Jainism to Akbar. Akbar was delighted and bestowed the title *yugapradhān* on Jinacandra Sūri.[318] Jinacandra spent *cāturmāsa* at Lahore and accompanied Akbar during the latter's visit to Kashmir in 1592.[319] Both Hīravijaya Sūri and

307. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit*., p. 468.
308. *HJM*, p. 135; A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit*., p. 468.
309. *Ibid*.; S.R. Sharma, *op. cit*., p. 280.
310. *Ibid*.; *ibid*.; A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit*., p. 468.
311. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit*., p. 468.
312. *Ibid*., p. 469.
313. *Ibid*.
314. *Ibid*.
315. *Ibid*., pp. 465-6.
316. *Ibid*., p. 468.
317. *Ibid*.
318. *Ibid*.
319. *Ibid*.

Jinacandra Sūri left a lasting impression on Akbar.[320]

HUMANITARIANISM AND MORAL LIFE

Jainism preaches love and compassion towards all living beings, human beings as well as animals, birds and insects. This ideal has produced a deep impress on Indian life. In Rajasthan the Jaina practice of feeding and sustaining the birds and the ants has been widely adopted by the Hindus.[321] The Jainas have established a large number of animal houses called Piñjaḍā Pol for the protection of animals.[322] The Jainas in south India made it a principle to provide food, protection, medicine and education to the needy.[323] Jainism has exercised a healthy influence on the moral life of the people.[324] Through the ages, the Jainas have established and maintained charitable institutions of various kinds in the country.[325] The Jainas have established and maintained institutions like public libraries, educational institutions,[326] dispensaries,[327] *dharmaśālās*,[328] houses for animal protection,[329] trusts for public welfare, etc.

The most precious gifts of Jainism to Indian culture are profound reverence for all forms of life and the way of austerity.[330] Perhaps the greatest contribution of Jainism to the Indian culture, and to the world as a whole, is the advocacy of an ideal, i.e., perfection of man. Jainism has laid superlative

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320. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 468.
321. *JIR*, p. 234.
322. *RI*, p. 296.
323. *MJ*, p. 269.
324. *JIR*, p. 233.
325. *CUHI*, I p. 222.
326. *JIR*, p. 235.
327. *CUHI*, I, p. 222; *JIR*, p. 236.
328. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
329. *RI*, p. 296; *CUHI*, I, p. 222.
330. *HOIC*, I, p. 162.

stress on man's purity and on his conquest of the body and the senses.[331] The moral injunctions prohibiting the eating of animal foods, drinking, gambling, hunting, stealing, adultery and debauchery produced high-souled men and women from the Jaina laity who became role models for the Indian society.[332]

Numerous Jaina monks were held in admiration because of their noble, austere, selfless and scholarly life even by the Muslim rulers. It is a different matter that their lives did not inspire them. Many Śvetāmbara and Digmbara monks were honoured by Muslim rulers like Muhammad Ghori, Alauddin Khalji, Muhammad Tughlaq, Firoz Tughlaq and Sikandar Sur.[333] Akbar was deeply influenced by Jainism. His son Jahangir issued orders for the protection of Śatruñjaya, and conferred the title *mahātapā* on Jaina scholar Vijayadeva Sūri and the title *yugapradhān* on the Jaina monk Jinasiṁha Sūri.[334]

PHILOSOPHY

Jainism has made a significant contribution in the field of philosophy also. In the field of philosophy the greatest contribution of Jainism is *Anekāntavāda* or the theory of Indefiniteness of Being, and a dialectical method called *Syādvāda*, which upholds this theory. Jainism attaches such importance to this method that *Syādvāda* is frequently used as a synonym for it.[335] *Anekāntavāda* and *Syādvāda* have elicited high praise from Indian and foreign scholars.

MONASTIC SYSTEM

The monastic rule is Jainism's greatest creation.[336] It is a severe rule which is dominated by the conception of non-violence, a conception probably

331. *HOIC*, I, p. 162.
332. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
333. *HJM*, p. 135.
334. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
335. *ERE*, VII, p. 468.
336. *ROAI*, p. 125.

created by Jainism.[337] The practical genius of Mahāvīra is abundantly evident from his establishment of a four-fold order of followers. In this system both laymen and laywomen could aspire to monkhood by accepting its discipline in stages.[338] Thus, unlike Buddhism, Jainism could produce through the ages a large number of high-souled men and women, who could endure the storm and stress that drove Buddhism out of India.[339] The sage in Jainism could come from even the castes which were viewed as extremely low.[340] There was a hierarchy of monks in the Jaina Church (*saṁgha*). Jainism insisted upon the active participation of the laity in monastic life. A layman or a laywoman could become a monk or a nun by improvement of moral standard and approximating to the ideal of conduct prescribed for the Jaina monks and nuns.[341]

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The literary activities of the Jainas in a regular form commenced from about the beginning of the Christian era.[342] The Jaina literary activity, which may be called the Sarasvatī movement, began sometime in the first half of the second century BC, and was an accomplished fact by the end of the first century AD.[343] The period from the second century AD to the twelfth century AD may be called the golden age of the Jaina literary activity,[344] and during this period numerous Jaina authors from Samantabhadra to Hemacandra,[345] enriched the religious and secular literature of India by their compositions in many languages.

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337. *ROAI*, p. 125.
338. *HOIC*, I, p. 164.
339. *Ibid.*
340. *Ibid.*
341. *Ibid.*
342. *JSAI*, p. 15.
343. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
344. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
345. *Ibid.*

The literary activity of the Jainas has embraced an extremely wide field. Jaina authors have produced religious as well as secular literature. They have written numerous books on religion and philosophy.[346] They also produced narrative literature in the form of *kathā*s, *kathākośa*s, epics, *caritas*,[347] Purāṇas,[348] *prabhandas* and *praśasti*s.[349] They also wrote socio-political histories, historical biographies, *paṭṭāvali*s of the various Jaina ascetic congregations, commentaries on non-Jaina works, etc.[350] The Jainas also produced works on poetry in the form of *kāvyas*, *mahākāvyas* and small poems[351] They also wrote on technical and scientific subjects like poetics, grammar, lexicography geography, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, politics, etc.[352]

By producing literature in many Indian languages like Ardha-Magadhi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, etc., Jainism has played an important role in the linguistic development of India. Prākṛt languages owe a lot to Jainism. The Jainas produced rich literature in Apabhraṁśa,[353] and most of the surviving literature in this language is the creation of Jaina authors.[354] Apabhraṁśa is a language which is a link between the classical languages, i.e., Sanskrit and Prākṛt and the modern vernacular languages of India.[355] Apabhraṁśa represents an important stage in the development of Indo-Aryan languages — a stage 'in which the Prākṛts die and out of them the *bhāṣā*s or the vernaculars are born'.[356] Many modern Indian languages like

346. *JIR*, pp. 152-3; *AOIK*, p. 292.
347. *CA*, pp. 291ff; *JIR*, pp. 153-60; *JSAI*, pp. 20-2.
348. *JIR*, p. 153; *JSAI*, pp. 22-5.
349. *JSAI*, pp. 18-19.
350. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-28.
351. *CA*, pp. 313-17; *JIR*, p. 166.
352. *Ibid.*, pp. 317-24; *Ibid.*, pp. 172-7; *MJ*, p. 266; *JSAI*, pp. 16ff.
353. *CUHI*, I, pp. 222-3; *Ibid.*, p. 151; *JSAI*, p. 13.
354. *JIR*, p. 151.
355. *CUHI*, I, p. 223.
356. *SFE*, p. 351.

Hindi, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Marathi, etc., have developed from Apabhraṁśa.[357] The Jainas have made a handsome contribution to the development of Gujarati and Rajasthani, and Jaina influence can be seen on Marathi and Sindhi also.[358]

Jainism wielded influence in the Kannada land for long. Jaina authors contributed a glorious chapter to Kannada literature.[359] In fact, the honour of creating Kannada literature and its enrichment with classics of abiding value goes to Jaina authors.[360] The Jainas also made immense contribution to the development of Tamil literature. Most of the major and minor epics, which are the pride of Tamil literature, have been composed by the Jainas.[361] The Jainas also made a significant contribution to Sanskrit literature. In fact, Jaina authors gradually adopted Sanskrit as the principal medium of expression in the composition of literature, religious as well as secular.[362] Almost all early Jaina writers of south India were profound Sanskrit scholars.[363]

In fine, Jainism made a notable contribution to the development of the literature of many Indian languages including Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. Some of the most renowned classics in Tamil, Telugu and Kannada were penned by Jaina authors.[364] The Jainas gave to the Tamil people their didactic classics like the *Kuraḷ* and *Nāḷadiyār*, some major and minor *kāvya*s and other works.[365] *Campū* is an elaborate and artificial form in Sanskrit literature, calculated to afford to the poet ample opportunity to display his

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357. *AOIK*, p. 212; *JIR*, p. 151.
358. *JIR*, p. 151.
359. *CA*, p. 327. Also see *MJ*, pp. 262-3; *JSAI*, p. 13; *JIR*, p. 151; *IP*, p. 77; *CUHI*, pp. 222-3.
360. *AOIK*, p. 292.
361. *Ibid.*
362. *AOIU*, p. 284; *IP*, p. 77; *JIR*, p. 151; *JSAI*, p. 13.
363. *MJ*, p. 263.
364. *Ibid.*; *IP*, p. 77; *JIR*, p. 151.
365. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

erudition and command over both prose and poetry in a single composition.[366] The Jainas gave to the Telugu and Kannada literature the *Campū kāvyas* or poems in a variety of composite metres interspersed with paragraphs in prose.[367]

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Plastic Art

Jainism has made a significant contribution in the domain of Indian art, particularly architecture. In ancient India art was the hand-maid of religion.[368] The Jaina temples and idols were built to satisfy the religious fervour of the devotees, and the Jainas invested immense money and labour to make them beautiful.[369] A huge mass of Jaina images, made of stone, metal and other materials, belonging to the ancient and medieval period of Indian history, has been discovered from various places in Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, like Lohanipur, Mathurā, Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, Rajgir, Udayagiri, Fatehpur Sikri, Kahaum, Deogadh, Gwalior, Chanderi, Khajuraho, etc.

The images of the Jaina *tīrthaṁkaras* have been described as cold and frozen,[370] stiff in pose, devoid of expression and grace,[371] characterised by puppet-like rigidity, primitive bareness[372] and uniformity of pattern.[373] It is held that the images of the Jaina *tīrthaṁkaras* present a stark contrast to the sublime gentleness and serene grace of the figure of the Buddha, and to the

366. *AOIK*, p. 187.
367. *MJ*, p. 263.
368. R.C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art of Mathurā*, 1984, Foreword; *JAA*, I, p. 35.
369. *JAA*, I, p. 35.
370. H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. I, 1955, p. 15.
371. *JAA*, I, p. 67.
372. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
373. *JSAI*, p. 231; *HOFA*, Introduction, p. 11.

divine strength and lavish charm of the images of the Hindu gods.[374] There is much truth in this criticism. But the iconography of the Jaina *tīrthaṁkara*s should be judged in the light of the doctrines of Jainism.

The Jaina *tīrthaṁkara*s were great ascetics. In fact, the image of the *tīrthaṁkara* is a vehicle of the ritual tradition of Jainism,[375] which prescribed his portrayal as an ascetic. It is because of this prescription that a cold and frozen atmosphere hovers around the images of the *jina*s.[376] Nudity is a monastic rule for the Digambara Jaina ascetics. The Jaina sculpture is the only art in India in which absolutely unclothed figures are found. This nakedness represents a condition of absolute detachment from the world.[377]

But in the representation of lesser deities of the Jaina pantheon, and in carving secular scenes from contemporary life, the artist was not bound by any prescribed formulae, and enjoyed the freedom to display his artistic genius.[378] The female figures carved on the pillars of the Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā rank among the masterpieces of the Mathurā school of art.[379] The figures of lively and joyful women carved on these pillars bear testimony to the fact that in spite of its rigid course of discipline the Jaina community of Mathurā gave a free hand to the artist in the display of his artistic genius.[380] Many Jaina sculptures discovered from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā possess artistic merit.[381] The Jaina images of the first and the second century AD found from Mathurā are stiff in pose and lack expression and grace.[382] But the *tīrthaṁkara* figures of Mathurā belonging to the Gupta period are

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374. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
375. *JSAI*, p. 231; *JAA*, I, pp. 67-8; *EWA*, VIII, p. 786.
376. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
377. *Ibid.*
378. *JSAI*, p. 231.
379. P.K. Agrawala, *Mathura Railing Pillars*, 1966, p. 2.
380. *JAA*, I, p. 59.
381. *JS*, Introduction, p. 5.
382. *JAA*, I, p. 67.

masterpieces of sculptural art. Serene spiritual beauty is writ large on the faces of these *tīrthaṁkara* figures.[383] The Jaina *āyāga-paṭṭas* or votive tablets (tablets of homage) found from Mathurā rank among the most beautiful specimens of the Mathurā school of sculpture; they are exceedingly well-conceived and the compositions convey the meaning of the symbolism they seek to represent.[384]

The Jainas produced a different type of sculpture at Gwalior. The most striking part of the Jaina remains of Gwalior are a series of caves or rock-cut sculptures that are excavated on the rock on all sides; some of these figures are colossal — greater in size than others found in north India.[385] The gigantic colossi of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa and other places in south India are perhaps the most artistic of the Jaina sculptures.[386] The colossal monolithic Jaina statues of the south are counted among the wonders of the world.[387] The colossal Jaina statue at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa standing on top of a hill is 57 feet high and has been cut from a single block of gneiss.[388] The aura of this statue has elicited high praise from art critics.[389] There are similar colossi at Yenur and Karkala. V.A. Smith writes,

> Undoubtedly the most remarkable of the Jaina statues are the celebrated colossi of southern India, the largest free-standing statues in Asia — at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in Mysore, and at Karkala and Yenur or Venur in South Kanara. All three being set on the top of eminences are visible from miles around.[390]

383. State Museum, Lucknow no. J. 104; *Mārg*, Mathurā No., p. 56; *JAA*, I, pp. 67-8; R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures of the Gupta Age in the State Museum*, Lucknow, p. 152.
384. V.S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, Vārāṇasī, 1965, pp. 178-9.
385. *HIEA*, pp. 243-5.
386. *HOFA*, Introduction, p. 11.
387. *IGI*, II, p. 122.
388. *Ibid.*
389. *JAA*, I, p. 37.

Reference may also be made to the five groups of Jaina images cut in relief on the face of the steep cliff below the fort of Gwalior; they were executed between AD 1440 and 1473.[391] Some of these images are colossal; one of them is 57 feet high.[392]

Architecture

In the field of architecture the contribution of Jainism has been truly memorable. Jainism did not create a separate architecture.[393] It drew from and always depended on Hindu architecture.[394] In the construction of temples the Jainas followed the structural pattern of the Hindus.[395] The Jainas adopted the local building traditions for their edifices.[396] The Hindu and the Jaina temples at Khajuraho are alike.[397] But the Jaina temples were not exact carbon copies of the Hindu temples; they differed from them in some respects because the theistic requirements of Jainism are somewhat different from those of Hinduism.[398] For instance, departure from the style of Hindu architecture can be seen in some Jaina temples of Karnataka.[399]

The Jainas had a passion for religious-building, and through the ages, they built numerous temples, some of which can be called the pride of India. The Jainas chose beautiful sites for the construction of such edifices. It was

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390. *HOFA*, p. 268.
391. *Ibid.*
392. *Ibid.*
393. *AJAA*, p. 319; E.B. Havell, *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, 1915, p. 175.
394. *Ibid.*, p. 319.
395. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 134; E.B. Havell, *oc. cit.*, pp. 65-6.
396. E.B. Havell, *op. cit.*, p. 175; *AJAA*, pp. 319-20.
397. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu*, 2nd edn., p. 136; *HOFA*, p. 23; *HIEA*, pp. 245-6.
398. *AJAA*, pp. 319-20.
399. *IGI*, II, p. 170.

love of the picturesque that prompted the Jainas to build their temples on hill-tops.[400] The Jainas not only erected temples; they also built temple-cities — cities consisting of temples alone — picturesquely situated on the hills of Girnar in Kathiawad and Śatruñjaya or Palitana in Gujarat.[401] Other picturesquely situated Jaina temple groups are at Raṇapur in Jodhpur and Parasnatha in Bengal.[402] The Jaina temples were built in an ornate style. The Jaina temples of Gujarat and Mount Abu in Rajasthan were built in an ornate style. The Jaina passion for ornamentation reached its peak in the temples of west India. The Jaina temples in Karnataka are almost equally ornate in a different fashion.[403]

The exquisite temples of Mount Abu, built in the western or Gujarati[404] or the Maru Gurjar style,[405] a beautiful variation of[406] the north Indian or the Indo-Aryan style[407], are the most notable achievements of the Jainas in the domain of art.[408] The Jaina temples at Mount Abu are deservedly famous.[409] The most outstanding of the Jaina temples at Mount Abu are the Vimal Shah and the Tejpala temples which were constructed in AD 1032 and AD 1232 respectively.[410] Built entirely of white marble these temples are domed shrines with pillared halls.[411] These are the finest models of this style; the beauty and delicay of carving and the richness of designs in both these temples are

400. *HIEA*, p. 240.
401. *HIEA*, pp. 226 ff; A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, p. 112.
402. A.K. Commaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-13.
403. *HOFA*, Introduction, p. 11.
404. *Ibid.*, and p. 32.
405. *AJAA*, p. 319.
406. *HOFA*, p. 32.
407. *Ibid.*
408. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 11.
409. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
410. *Ibid.*
411. *Ibid.*

breathtaking.[412] The remarkable temples dedicated to Jaina worship at Mount Abu carry to its highest perfection the Indian genius for the invention of graceful patterns and their application to the decoration of masonry.[413] The beauty of the ceilings, pillars, doorways, niches and panels of the Jaina temples at Mount Abu is mind boggling.[414]

In decorative sculpture, as distinguished from individual statuary, the Jainas encouraged work of a high order of excellence and beauty, employed to adorn with the utmost possible magnificence the pillared chambers which were their favourite form of architecture.[415] Nothing in the world can surpass for richness and delicacy of detail the marble columns and ceilings of the Mount Abu temples, and it would be easy to fill a large volume with illustrations of more or less similar exquisite work in many localities.[416] In fact, the Jaina temples at Mount Abu eclipse all monuments in India in aesthetic exuberance.[417] The whiteness of marble in these temples symbolises the passionless purity of this ascetic faith.[418] The astounding profuseness of the marvellous traceries of the fairly ceilings of these temples have put to shade the pendents of the Westminster Abbey.[419]

The Jaina temples of west India represent in material form the concept of the ultimate and eternity as put forth by Jainism.[420] Of the Jaina temples at Palitana, Fergusson writes,

> It is by watching the methods still followed in designing buildings in that remote locality that we become aware how it is that the uncultivated

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412. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. iii, H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 268; *HOFA*, p. 32.
413. *IGI*, II, p. 124.
414. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 268.
415. *HOFA*, p. 270.
416. *Ibid.*
417. O.C. Gangoly, *Indian Architecture*, p. 44.
418. *Ibid.*
419. *Ibid.*
420. *AJAA*, p. 378.

> Hindu can rise in archietecture to a degree of originality and conception which has not been attained in Europe since the Middle Ages, but which might easily be recovered by following the same process.[421]

By this time the patronage of Jainism had passed into the hands of the merchants and the common people; therefore, the architecture of the Jaina temples of Mount Abu can be called the architecture of the people.[422]

Nearly one-third of the extant temples at Khajuraho are Jaina temples. Architecturally, the older temples at Khajuraho may justly be regarded as the most beautiful in form as well as the most elegant in detail among the temples of northern India; the only others that can be compared with them is the earlier group at Bhubaneswar in Orissa.[423] Fergusson remarks about the Jaina temple of Pārśvanātha at Khajuraho,

> There is nothing probably in Hindu architecture that surpasses the richness of its three-storeyed base combined with the extreme elegance of outline and delicate detail of the upper part.[424]

Percy Brown writes about a ruined Jaina temple at Khajuraho,

> In its dismantled condition one can only admire the elegance of its pillars and the richness of the carved doorway. Some of the pillars are most gracefully proportioned, tall slender shafts, octagonal below and circular above, clasped around at intervals with girdles of delicate carving and surmounted by an appropriate bracket capital.[425]

The Jainas also excelled in the construction of free-standing pillars called *māna-stambhas* which were almost invariably erected near the temples,

421. *HIEA*, p. 228.
422. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 266.
423. *IGI*, II, pp. 179-80.
424. *HIEA*, p. 246.
425. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-7.

particularly in the south. They were a characteristic feature of the Jaina temples of south India, and in no other part of the country the *māna-stambhas* were as elaborately carved as in the south.[426] The Jaina free-standing pillars have been lavishly praised by connoisseurs of art. The Jainas built many free-standing pillars in Kanara in south India. V.A. Smith felt that in the whole range of Indian art there is perhaps nothing equal to the Kanara pillars as far as good taste is concerned.[427]

A variation of the free-standing pillars are the commemorative towers, i.e., *kīrti-stambhas* of north India. There are two such *stambhas* at Chittor in Rajasthan. One of them is the 'tower of fame' which dates from about AD 900.[428] Another tower of this kind at Chittor was finished in AD 1468.[429] It is a 'pillar of victory' like the column of Trajan at Rome. It is 122 feet high and consists of nine storeys, the whole being covered with ornamental sculpture.[430] The Jaina *kīrti-stambha* at Chittor is a masterpiece of carving,[431] and according to Fergusson, as an architectural object it is of infinitely better taste than the column of Trajan at Rome.[432]

The Jainas also built rock-cut caves. There are two groups of Jaina rock-cut caves on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills in Orissa.[433] These caves were built for the habitation of Jaina ascetics.[434] Of these, the Hāthīgumphā cave on the Udayagiri hills appears to have been built in the second century BC.[435] Some others like the Ananta, Rānī and Gaṇeśa gumphās probably date

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426. *IP*, p. 77.
427. *HOFA*, p. 14.
428. *IP*, p. 77.
429. *Ibid.*
430. *Ibid.*, *IGI*, II, p. 124.
431. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-8.
432. *HIEA*, pp. 253-4; *IP*, p. 77.
433. *SIJA*, p. 6.
434. *JAA*, I, p. 76.
435. *SIJA*, p. 6.

from 150 BC to 50 BC.[436] The interiors of the Jaina caves of Orissa are austerely plain, but the facades of some of the caves are richly decorated.[437] Rānī-gumphā is the most spacious and elaborately carved of all Orissan caves.[438]

The Jainas were also associated with the construction of the *stūpa*s. Jaina traditions refer to the practice of erecting *stūpa*s over the ashes of the *jina*s.[439] The prejudice that all *stūpa*s and railings must necessarily be Buddhist has probably prevented the recognition of Jaina structures as such, and upto the present day only two undoubted Jaina *stūpa*s have been recorded.[440] One Jaina *stūpa* existed at Vaiśālī, and this was dedicated to the *jina* Munisuvṛata.[441] The other Jaina *stūpa* was the celebrated *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā. To the history and architecture of this *stūpa* we shall turn later in this book.

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436. *SIJA*, p. 7.
437. *JAA*, I, p. 82.
438. *SIJA*, p. 7.
439. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
440. *IGI*, II, p. 111.
441. *SIJA*, p. 62; *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 7.

5

Jainism in Mathurā

Second century BC to eleventh century AD

MATHURĀ— the heart of Braj — and described as one of the seven holy cities of India in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*,[1] has been a sacred city to the Hindus from very early times. This city has been held in high esteem by the Jainas also. Tradition recorded in later Jaina texts associates Mathurā with many *tīrthaṁkaras*. According to *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, a fourteenth-century work made known by Buhler,[2] a *stūpa* was built at Mathurā in honour of Supārśvanātha, the seventh *tīrthaṁkara*.[3] Another Jaina tradition describes Mathurā as the birth place of Naminātha, the twenty-first *tīrthaṁkara*.[4] Neminātha (Ariṣṭanemi), the twenty-second *tīrthaṁkara*, who was a cousin of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, was closely associated with Mathurā,[5] and according to *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, he had a specially honoured place in this city.[6] Many images of the Kuṣāṇa and post-Kuṣāṇa period represent Neminātha in the company of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma.[7] Vardhamāna Mahāvīra is said to have visited Mathurā.[8] Jambūsvāmī, the last *kevalin*, is believed to have performed penance in this city.

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1. *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, 2.28.3 cited in A.B.L. Awasthi, *Garuḍa Purāṇa Ek Adhyayana*, 1968, p. 15; P.D. Mittal, *Braj Kā Sāṁskṛtika Itihāsa*, vol. I, 1966, p. 22 fn. 2.
2. *JS*, p. 13; *Yaśastilaka*, p. 432.
3. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, pp. 17ff; *MS*, pp.1-2; *JAA*, I, p. 50.
4. *JI*, p. 80; *JAA*, I, p. 50.
5. *MS*, p. 2; *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*; *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, p. 86.
7. MM no. 34. 2488; *JAA*, I, p. 50.
8. *LDJC*, p. 309; *MCH*, p. 211.

The spread of Jainism to various parts of India was the consequence of numerous migrations of the Jainas from eastern India.[9] One such migration or extension of the Jaina community brought it to Mathurā at an early period.[10] Archaeological excavations have established that Jainism obtained a firm footing in Mathurā by the second century BC,[11] and that from this time it had a continuous history in this city up to the eleventh century AD.[12] In fact, in the early centuries of the Christian era, Mathurā became the most renowned centre of Jainism in northern India.[13]

Archaeological excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā

Except the Jaina traditions which furnished some information, nothing specific was known about the state and history of Jainism in Mathurā even as late as AD 1870. But archaeological excavations conducted at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā by Cunningham, Harding, Growse, Burgess and Fuhrer from about 1870 to 1896,[14] opened the flood-gates for writing on the history of Jainism in Mathurā on scientific lines. These excavations have unearthed immense Jaina antiquities like sculptures, pillars, *āyāga-paṭṭa*s, capitals, umbrellas, railing posts, copings, cross-bars, component parts of gateways, bracket-figures and other architectural pieces from this mound.[15] These excavations unearthed a large number of dedicatory inscriptions also.[16] The earliest of these dedicatory inscriptions belongs to the second century BC,[17] and the last to the eleventh century AD.[18] These dedicatory inscriptions provide a fairly clear picture of the

9. *CHI*, I, pp. 167ff; *AOIU*, pp. 417ff; *HJM*, p. 577.
10. *AOIU*, p. 418; *CMHI*, II, p. 363.
11. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 1ff; *JAA*, I p. 51.
12. *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. 3-5; *ASIAR* (1906-7), p. 141; *MI*, p. 42; *JSAI*, pp. 230-1.
13. *CMHI*, II, p. 355.
14. *MI*, p. 39.
15. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 1ff; *JAA*, I, p. 52.
16. *EI*, X, Appendix, Lüders List, pp. 2ff.
17. *EI*, II, p. 195 and inscription no. 1; *EI*, II, pp. 198-9.
18. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 3-5.

history and state of Jainism in Mathurā from the second century BC to the eleventh century AD.

The Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, occasionally called Jaini Ṭīlā,[19] stands between the Bhūteśvara crossing and B.S.A. College in the south-west part of Mathurā. This mound has derived its present name from a small modern temple dedicated to a Hindu goddess called Kaṅkālī Devī,[20] who is a form of goddess Durgā.[21] This mound is nearly rectangular in shape; it is approximately 500 feet long and 350 feet wide.[22] But Cunningham gave its dimensions as 400 feet long and 300 feet wide.[23]

General A. Cunningham, the first Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India,[24] excavated the western end of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā in March and November in 1871.[25] He conducted excavations at this mound in 1881-2 and 1882-3 also.[26] Harding, a predecessor of F.S. Growse as Magistrate of Mathurā, also made some excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.[27] F.S. Growse, who worked as Magistrate and later as Collector of Mathurā district,[28] conducted excavation on the northern portion of this mound in 1875.[29] James Burgess and A. Fuhrer of the Archaeological Survey of India,[30] conducted excavations at the eastern

19. *JS*, Introduction, p. 1; *MI*, p. 40; *MDM*, p. 116.
20. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 117.
21. *GD*, p. 128.
22. *JS*, Introduction, p. 1.
23. *ASIAR*, III, p. 19; *MI*, p. 39; *JS*, Introduction, p. 1.
24. F.R. Allchin, *The Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia: The Emergence of Cities and States*, 1995, p. 5.
25. *ASIAR*, III, pp. 13ff; *JS*, Introduction, p. 1.
26. *Ibid.*, XVII, p. 111; *ASIAR*, XX, plates III and IV; *JS*, Introduction, p. 2.
27. *JS*, Introduction, p. 1; *MI*, p. 39.
28. Pamphlet of Government Museum, Mathurā. F.S. Growse founded the museum which is now called Government Museum, Mathurā.
29. *JS*, Introduction, p. 1.
30. *DJI*, Introduction; *MI*, p. 41; *MCH*, p. 108.

end of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā at different times from 1888 to 1896.[31] It was Fuhrer who discovered the largest number of Jaina antiquities from this mound. Fuhrer's principal excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā were conducted in 1888-9, 1889-90 and 1890-1.[32] He made some excavations at this site in 1896 also.[33]

Fuhrer's excavations brought to light remnants of a Jaina *stūpa*, and of two Jaina temples also.[34] But it is important to note that numerous Jaina antiquities which included inscriptions, images of the *tīrthaṁkara*s and pillars of *stūpa* railings had already been excavated by A. Cunningham.[35] Excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā had stopped after Cunningham's work at this site in 1882-3. But this work was resumed in 1888, first under the direction of Burgess, and thereafter under Fuhrer,[36] for the fulfilment of a specific need. This need arose because European scholars were engaged in a serious debate about the authenticity of the Jaina traditions at that time.

Jainism attracted notice of European scholars about the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1858, Albrecht Weber argued that the Jainas were Buddhist schismatics.[37] Christian Lassen also theorised in the 1860s that the Jainas were descendants of the Buddhists.[38] But Colebrooke, Prinsep, Stevenson, E. Thomas and some other scholars held that Jainism is older than Buddhism.[39] These conflicting viewpoints led to a debate among European scholars. Between 1879 and 1884, Hermann Jacobi, one of the participants in this debate, undertook the refutation of the thesis that Jainism arose out of Buddhism. On the strength of references in Pali literature, Jacobi successfully

31. *JS*, Introduction, p. 1; *MI*, p. 40.
32. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 2; *Ibid.*
33. *MI*, p. 40.
34. *EI*, I, p. 380; *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 141; *MI*, p. 40; *JS*, Introduction, pp. 2-3.
35. *ASIAR*, III, pp. 13ff; *JS*, Introduction, pp. 1-2.
36. *MI*, p. 40; *MCH*, p. 107.
37. *MCH*, p. 104.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *CHI*, I, p. 152.

proved that Jainism did not arise out of Buddhism, and that the Nirgranthas (the Jainas) existed before the time of Gautama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, and his contemporary Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the successor of Pārśvanātha. Jacobi's presentation was convincing, and from 1884 onwards the theory that Jainism arose out of Buddhism fell in general disrepute.[40] Jacobi's arguments were based solely on literary evidence. Therefore, this debate continued.

Barth, a participant in this debate, doubted the authenticity of the Jaina literary evidence prior to the fixation of the Śvetāmbara canon in the fifth century AD. This set the stage for the entry of J.G. Buhler in this debate. He was knowledgable about Jainism and during seventeen years of his stay in India (1863-80), he had collected and sent to Europe most of the Jaina literature which was used by Jacobi and Weber in their writings.[41] In the beginning Buhler had agreed with the viewpoint of Lassen and Barth.[42] But in 1879, he entered this debate as an opponent of Barth.[43] Cunningham had already discovered some images of the Jaina *tīrthaṁkara*s from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, and also some inscriptions which bore the words Vardhamāna and Mahāvīra.[44] He had drawn an enthusiastic conclusion, as early as 1873, that there was tangible evidence in support of the truth embodied in the Jaina traditions.[45]

But Buhler wanted many more inscriptions to remove Barth's doubts about the authenticity of the early Jaina tradition. Buhler, therefore, asked James Burgess in September, 1887 to resume excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā during the next working season.[46] Burgess agreed and resumed excavation work at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā in January, 1888.[47] The resumption of excavations at

40. *MCH*, p. 104.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
42. *OISJ*, pp. 23-5 fn. 1.
43. *MCH*, p. 106.
44. *ASIAR*, III, pp. 13ff
45. *Ibid.*, p. 46; *MCH* p. 106.
46. *MCH*, p. 106.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 107; *MI*, p. 40.

Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā, first under Burgess, and thereafter under the direction of Fuhrer, should be viewed in the light of this background. Jaina antiquities kept on emerging from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā from 1888 to 1891.

Fuhrer's excavations in 1888-9 unearthed from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā or its immediate neighbourhood ten inscribed images of the *jina*s belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, four of these being most important in respect of the history of Jainism; thirty-four pieces of sculpture forming parts of a Śvetāmbara Jaina temple of the time of the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka; an image of Mahāvīra surrounded by the remaining twenty-three *tīrthaṁkaras*;[48] two colossal images of *jina* Padmaprabhanātha dated vs 1038 and 1134;[49] four basements of Jaina images bearing vs 1134, and numerous Buddhist antiquities.[50] In 1889-90, Fuhrer excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā the remnants of a Jaina *stūpa* and also of a Jaina temple belonging to the Digambara sect.[51] During the working season of 1889-90, Fuhrer also excavated eighty images of the *tīrthaṁkara*s, one hundred twenty pieces of stone railings, many miscellaneous sculptures, and numerous inscriptions, seventeen of which belong to the Kuṣāṇa period.[52]

Fuhrer's excavation work at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā brought to light an overwhelmingly immense number of Jaina antiquities in 1890-1.[53] In the winter season of 1890-1, Fuhrer forwarded to the Lucknow Museum seven hundred thirty-seven fine pieces of Jaina sculptures, comprising beautifully finished panels, doorways, *toraṇa*s, columns, complete railings with copings and bars, images of the *tīrthaṁkara*s, etc.[54] Among the sculptures found was a *toraṇa* bearing a relief which represents a *stūpa* worshipped by Kinnaras and Garuḍs or Suparṇas.[55] The excavation work conducted at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā by Fuhrer in 1890-1 was far

48. *JS*, p. 52 and plate XCIV.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 53 and plates XCV and XCVI.
50. *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. 2-3.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*, p. 3 fn. 2 and plate XV.

more important in results than done in 1888-9 and 1889-90, and the Jaina antiquities discovered during this working season made significant addition to the extant knowledge of Indian history and art.[56]

Some Jaina sculptures were discovered from Śītalā Ghāṭī, Rānī-Kī-Maṇḍī and Manoharpurā localities of Mathurā also.[57] The bulk of sculptures found from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā were sent to Agra and were placed in the Riddel Museum which existed there at that time.[58] The Riddel Museum was broken in 1875 or shortly before it, and the greater part of its holdings was removed to Allahabad.[59] The reconstituted Provincial Museum at Lucknow opened on 1 July, 1884, and most of the sculptures which had gone to Allahabad from Agra were transferred to the Lucknow Museum.[60] In short, most of the Jaina antiquities excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā were forwarded to the Lucknow Museum[61] or placed in the grounds of the Mathurā Museum.[62]

The excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā unearthed a large number of Jaina inscriptions. Sixty-two of the seven hundred thirty-seven sculptures discovered by Fuhrer from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā bore inscriptions which ranged in dates from 150 BC to AD 1023.[63] Fuhrer kept on sending impressions and photographs of the inscriptions discovered from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā to Buhler.[64] Buhler translated and interpreted these inscriptions and published a selection from them in *Eigraphia Indica*.[65] Thirty-five Jaina inscriptions discovered from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā were published by Buhler in volume I of *Epigraphia Indica* under the title 'New

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56. *JS*, Introduction, p. 3.
57. *JAA*, I, p. 52 fn. 6; *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 141.
58. *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 141.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*; *MI*, p. 41.
62. *MI*, p. 41.
63. *JS*, Introduction, p. 3.
64. *EI*, I, p. 371 fn. 2; *EI*, II, p. 195 fn 1; *JS*, Introduction, p. 4.
65. *JS* Introduction, p. 4; *MCH*, p. 107.

Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā'[66] and 'Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā'.[67] Forty-one Jaina inscriptions discovered from Mathurā and edited by Buhler were published in volume II of *Epigraphia Indica* under the title 'Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathurā'.[68]

The discovery of Jaina inscriptions in such large numbers from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā delighted Buhler. Buhler needed ammunition in the form of inscriptions to combat the arguments of Barth and others, who doubted the authenticity of the Jaina traditions. These inscriptions provided the evidence Buhler looked for. This epigraphical evidence made it clear that Jainism did not arise out of Buddhism, and also that the authenticity of some Jaina traditions was beyond question. In his book entitled *On the Indian Sect of the Jainas*, Buhler enthusiastically wrote,

> Old historical traditions and inscriptions prove the independent existence of the sect of the Jainas even during the first five centuries after Buddha's death, and among the inscriptions are some which clear the Jaina tradition not only from the suspicion of fraud but bear powerful witness to its honesty.[69]

Fuhrer excavated numerous Jaina inscriptions, sculptures and architectural pieces from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā. It was a major achievement. Buhler rendered invaluable service by translating, interpreting and editing the Jaina inscriptions discovered from Mathurā. Consequently, a great deal of the history and state of Jainiam came to light. But a lot remained obscured due to the indifference and negligence of Fuhrer. Buhler needed Jaina inscriptions from Mathurā, and Fuhrer's excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā were primarily and principally directed to achieve this end. Of the numerous mounds in Mathurā, Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was the only one which was completely explored, but Fuhrer

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66. *EI*, I, pp. 371-93.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 393-7.
68. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 195-212.
69. *OISJ*, p. 23.

devoted excessive importance to inscriptions, and completely ignored the architectural aspect.[70]

Buhler died in a boating accident in Europe in 1898.[71] Due to his sudden death the possibility of a synthetic account of the evidence from Mathurā, which he alone of scholars in Europe knew thoroughly, ceased to exist.[72] To make the matters worse, Fuhrer abruptly resigned from his job in the Archaeological Survey of India in 1898.[73] Fuhrer had announced a monograph on the Jaina remains at Mathurā.[74] But he left behind only one hundred two plates,[75] and these too without explanatory notes,[76] when he resigned from service in 1898.[77] Unfortunately, no record of operations was published; therefore, no proof exists as to the exact find-location of most of the objects of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.[78] Without any systematic account by Buhler, and without Fuhrer's personal rememberance of what had been done at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, scholars do not have any idea of the actual find-location of most of the antiquities excavated from this site, and it appears that Fuhrer did not maintain a record of his operations.[79]

The task to prepare a book on the archaeological material excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was undertaken by V.A. Smith. He had not been associated with the excavation work that had been conducted at this site. Owing to Fuhrer's indifference and negligence, the materials on the basis of which he had to produce a book on the subject, were sketchy and imperfect. However, after

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70. *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 140.
71. *MCH*, p. 108.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*; *MI*, p. 41.
74. *MI*, p. 41; *JS*, Preface.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*; *JS*, Preface.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *Ibid.*
79. *MCH*, p. 109.

being consulted by Sir Antony MacDonnell,[80] V.A. Smith edited the plates left behind by Fuhrer in 1901.[81] V.A. Smith produced a book entitled *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā* in 1901 on the subject. This book was reviewed by Foucher who stated that he himself saw in the Lucknow Museum the archaeological specimens figuring on these plates.[82] V.A. Smith published as plate I 'a General Plan' of the excavated part of the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, showing the remains of a great number of buildings.[83] These, however, cannot be identified, the exception being the foundations of the Jaina brick-*stūpa*, situated at the eastern end of the Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.[84]

The material at the command of V.A. Smith was inadequate and incomplete. And, he regretfully mentioned this fact many times in the aforesaid book.[85] Therefore, the account embodied in V.A. Smith's *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā* remained inadequate and incomplete. Fuhrer had maintained no record of his operations. Smith had not been associated with the excavation work conducted at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. It was, therefore, a case of one blind person providing light to the other blind. The fault lay with Fuhrer and not Smith. In view of these unfortunate happenings a researcher on the history of Jainism in Mathurā feels handicapped.

Jainism in Mathurā — the early phase

According to the Jaina tradition, Mathurā was a principal seat of Jainism.[86] The discovery of immense Jaina antiquities from Mathurā, especially from the Kaṅkālī mound, bears testimony to the truth embodied in this Jaina tradition.

80. *MI*, p. 41; *JS*, Preface.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*, fn 6.
83. *JS*, Plate I; *MI*, p. 41. Sir Antony MacDonnell was the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Oudh. See *JS*, Preface.
84. *MI*, p. 41.
85. *JS*, Preface, Introduction, pp. 2 ff; *MCH*, p. 109.
86. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, Mathurāpurī Kalpa, pp.17 ff; *Yaśastilaka*, pp. 416, 432, 433; *LDJC*, pp. 308-9; *OISJ*, p. 42.

Most of the Jaina antiquities excavated from this mound belong to the Kuṣāṇa period.[87] There is no unanimity among historians regarding the chronology of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. According to one view the Kuṣāṇa kings ruled at Mathurā from the middle of the first century AD to AD 176.[88] On the basis of finds from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, the Kuṣāṇa period may justly be described as the golden age of the history of Jainism in Mathurā.

Jainism attained its peak at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period. But its history in this city began much earlier. The exact date of the settlement of the Jainas at Mathurā is difficult to ascertain. The earliest dedicatory Jaina inscription discovered at Mathurā belongs to the middle of the second century BC.[89] But it is certain that the Jaina community had settled at Mathurā much earlier than the second century BC. The earliest Jaina antiquities excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā or any other site in Mathurā, are the remnants of a *stūpa* which appears to have existed in this city for many centuries. We, therefore, begin the history of Jainism in Mathurā with the history of the Jaina *stūpa* which was built at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.

The Jaina stūpa at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā

The *stūpa* was an early form of the structural architecture of the Jainas. Jaina traditions refer to the practice of erecting *stūpa*s over the ashes of the *jina*s.[90] The excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā have provided unmistakable evidence that at least one Jaina *stūpa*, if not more, was built at this site in Mathurā. It was Fuhrer who excavated the remnants of a Jaina *stūpa* from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā in 1889-90.[91] The General Plan of the excavated part of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā published by V.A. Smith clearly shows the position of the Jaina *stūpa*,[92] as also its

87. See *EI*, X, Appendix, Lüders List, pp. 2 ff.
88. R.C. Sharma, *The Splendour of Mathurā Art and Museum*, 1994, p. 27.
89. *EI*, II, p. 195 and Inscription no. 1, pp. 198-9; *EI*, X, Appendix, Lüders List, no. 93, p. 17.
90. *SIJA*, p. 9.
91. *JS*, Introduction, p. 3.
92. *JS*, p. 8 and Plate I.

foundations.[93] From available evidence it appears that there was a Jaina establishment at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā; it grew up around this *stūpa*, which was an object of supreme veneration for the Jainas.[94]

Jaina traditions are not unanimous regarding the origin of the *stūpa* at Mathurā. There are two principal accounts dealing with its origin. One of them is embodied in Somadeva's *Yaśastilakacampū*, 'a Jaina romance composed in AD 959',[95] and the other in Jinaprabha Sūri's *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, 'a fourtheenth-century work made known by Buhler'.[96] According to Jinaprabha Sūri, a golden *stūpa* adorned with precious stones was erected at Mathurā in honour of Supārśvanātha, the seventh *tīrthaṁkara*, by goddess Kuberā at the desire of two ascetics named Dharmaruci and Dharmaghoṣa.[97] In the time of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third *tīrthaṁkara*, the golden *stūpa* was encased in bricks as a safeguard against pillage, and a stone sculpture of this *jina* was installed outside it.[98] Thirteen hundred years after Mahāvīra's perfection,[99] i.e., in the eighth century AD,[100] it was restored by Bappabhaṭṭi Sūri in honour of Pārśvanātha.[101]

But Somadeva, who lived about four hundred years earlier than Jinaprabha Sūri, has given a different account. According to him, this *stūpa* was built by saint Vajrakumāra during the reign of Pūtikvāhana, and in his work *Yaśastilakacampū* there is no mention that it was ever built of gold.[102] The accounts left behind by Somadeva and Jinaprabha Sūri convey the impression that only one Jaina *stūpa* was built at Mathurā. But as per Digambara texts

93. *MI*, p. 41.
94. *JAA*, I, p. 53.
95. *Yaśastilaka*, Preface, vii.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 432; *JS*, p. 13.
97. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, Mathurāpurī Kalpa, pp. 17 ff; *JS*, p. 13; *Yaśsatilaka*, p. 432.
98. *Ibid.*, pp. 17 ff; *JS*, p. 13; *SIJA*, pp. 62-3.
99. *Ibid.*, pp. 17 ff; *JS*, p. 13.
100. *JS*, p. 13; *Yaśastilaka*, p. 432.
101. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
102. *Yaśastilaka*, pp. 432-3.

like Bṛhat-Kathā-Kośa of Hariṣena (AD 932), five Jaina stūpas were erected in this city.[103] The Paharpur Copper-Plate dated in the Gupta year 159 (AD 478) contains the term *pañcastūpa-nikāya*, which is an expression connected with the Jainas.[104] It has been held that the term *pañca-stūpa-nikāya* or *pañca-stūpānvaya* is connected with Mathurā.[105] In his work *Jambūsvāmī-caritra*, Rajmalla (VS 1632) refers to the repair of Mathurā *stūpas*.[106] On the basis of these references U.P. Shah opines that five Jaina *stūpas* existed in and around Mathurā, the oldest and most famous being the *stūpa* called *devanirmita*, i.e., built by gods.[107]

Archaeological material excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā also lends support to the view that more than one Jaina *stūpa* existed at Mathurā. There are many representations of a *stūpa* on the antiquities discovered at Mathurā.[108] Debala Mitra is of the view that the reliefs and dismembered stones of gateways and railings indicate that probably more than one *stūpa* existed at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, or a single *stūpa* underwent restorations and embellishments at frequent intervals.[109] Literary and archaeological evidence, thus, points to the existence of more than one Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā. But only a single *stūpa* seems to have been built at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. It was called *devanirmita*. It appears to have remained in existence for more than 1500 years. It was this *stūpa* which underwent restorations and embellishments from time to time.

According to Jinaprabha Sūri, the *stūpa* at Mathurā was built in honour of Supārśva, the seventh *tīrthaṁkara*. This view appears to be incorrect. The Jaina inscriptions excavated from Kaṅkālī mound do not contain reference to Supārśvanātha.[110] The Digambara tradition also does not specify this *stūpa* as

103. *SIJA*, p. 63 and fn 1; *JAA*, I, p. 54 fn 1.
104. *EI*, XX, pp. 59-64.
105. *Introduction to Harivaṁśa*, vol. I, pp. 20 ff, cited in *SIJA*, p. 63 fn 4.
106. *SIJA*, p. 63.
107. *Ibid*.
108. *JAA*, I, pp. 54ff and Plates.
109. *Ibid*., p. 54.
110. *EI*, X, Appendix, *Lüders List*, pp. 2 ff; *SIJA*, p. 12 fn. 1.

dedicated to Supārśva.[111] In fact, Jinaprabha Sūri is the only writer to say that this *stūpa* was built in honour of Supārśva.[112] We agree with U.P. Shah's view that 'the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī mound in Mathurā was dedicated to Pārśvanātha and not Supārśvanātha'.[113] This view is not without foundation. We find numerous references to this *Jina* in the Jaina inscriptions excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.[114] Images of Pārśvanātha have also been unearthed from this mound.[115] Even Jinaprabha Sūri states that a stone sculpture of Pārśvanātha was later installed in front of this *stūpa*.[116] It appears that either the copyists of Jinaprabha Sūri's *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa* or this author himself, who belonged to a much later period, committed the error of describing the *stūpa* of Pārśvanātha as the *stūpa* dedicated to Supārśvanātha.[117] But there is evidence of the existence of more than one Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā. In view of this it would not be unreasonable to presume that probably a *stūpa* dedicated to Supārśvanātha also existed in this city.[118]

Opinions vary regarding the antiquity of the Jaina *stūpa* of Mathurā. The exact date of its erection is difficult to ascertain. But it is certain that it was built many centuries before Christ. An inscription dated 79 (AD 157) or 49 (AD 127) on the pedestal of a missing image mentions the installation of an image of *arhat* Nandyāvarta at the so-called vodva *stūpa* built by gods, i.e., *devanirmita*.[119] On the basis of this inscription some scholars have opined that this *stūpa* was built at a very early period; it was so old in the second century

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111. *SIJA*, p. 63.
112. *Ibid.*
113. *Ibid.*, pp. 12 fn 1, 63.
114. *EI*, II, No. 29 and Plate; *EI*, X, Appendix, No. 110.
115. *MCH*, Plate 34.III and 34.IVa; *JPV*, pp. 46-9; *MS*, pp. 22-4.
116. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, pp. 17ff.; *JS*, p. 13; *SIJA*, pp. 62-3.
117. *SIJA*, p. 12 fn. 1.
118. *Ibid.*
119. *EI*, II, no. 20; *EI*, X, *Lüders List*, no. 47; *JAA*, I, p. 53; *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 141; *MI*, pp. 41-2; *JS*, p. 4 fn. 1, p. 12 Plate VI.

AD that its origin was forgotten by the people and, therefore, its construction came to be assigned by gods.[120]

U.P. Shah is of opinion that the original Jaina *stūpa* of Mathurā was a brick-*stūpa* dedicated to the memory of Pārśvanātha, who died two hundred fifty years before Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*,[121] i.e., in the eighth century BC. He, therefore, opines that the construction of this brick-*stūpa* should be assigned to the eighth century BC.[122] V.A. Smith also holds that this brick-*stūpa* was originally built in the time of Pārśvanātha.[123] He opines that 'the date 600 BC for its original construction is not too early'.[124] In other words, according to V.A. Smith, this *stūpa* was built in the seventh century BC. In fact, the antiquity of the Jaina *stūpa* built at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā needs a deeper probe.

Excavations have revealed that the Jaina *stūpa* unearthed from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was a brick-*stūpa*.[125] It probably enshrined the relics of Pārśvanātha, who died in the eighth century BC.[126] The earliest Indian buildings made of bricks to which approximate dates can be assigned are the *stūpa*s at Piparava and Kushinagar in Uttar Pradesh, built over the relics of the Buddha, and the recently excavated *stūpa* at Rajgir in Bihar, which also enshrines the relics of Gautama Buddha. Very strong reasons exist for assigning the *stūpa* at Piparava to 450 BC in round numbers,[127] i.e., the middle of the fifth century BC. The *stūpa* recently excavated at Rajgir was also built in the fifth century BC,[128] and the same is true of the Buddhist *stūpa* built at Kushinagar.

In other words, the construction of brick-*stūpa*s in northern India did not

120. *JS*, Introduction, p. 4 fn. 1; *MI*, pp. 41-2; *JAA*, I, p. 53.
121. *SIJA*, p. 63.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
123. *JS*, p. 13.
124. *Ibid.*
125. *EI*, I, p. 380; *MI*, p. 40; *ASIAR* (1906-7), p. 141, *JS*, p. 13; *SIJA*, pp. 63-4.
126. *SIJA*, p. 12.
127. *IGI*, II, p. 102.
128. *The Times of India*, 5 June, 2000.

begin before the fifth century BC. It is, thus, evident that the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā would not have been built of burnt bricks in the eighth century BC as presumed by U.P. Shah, or in the seventh century BC as presumed by V.A. Smith. The *stūpa* at Piparava is a product of solid masonry.[129] The same is true of the *stūpa*s at Rajgir and Kushinagar. With the exception of these three *stūpa*s, 'no kiln-burnt bricks have been found in northern India which belong to a period earlier than the fourth century BC'.[130] Even the bricks used in the construction of the buildings of Aśoka in the third century BC are unwieldly in size, and their inferior quality is indicative of lack of experience in brick making.[131] In fact, the origin of the Jaina brick-*stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā could not have been different in nature or date from the Buddhist *stūpa*s.[132] The components and representation of *stūpa*s found from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā do not reveal any characteristic that is not known in contemporary Buddhist *stūpa*s.[133] Structurally, the *toraṇa*s of the Mathurā *stūpa*s did not differ from those of the Buddhist *stūpa*s of Sanchi and Bharhut.[134] In other words, the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was almost similar to the Buddhist *stūpa*s of Sanchi and Bharhut in respect of style and ornamentation. It is, thus, evident that the Jaina brick-*stūpa* of Mathurā would not have been built earlier than the *stūpa* of Bharhut 'which was built in the third century BC'[135] or the *stūpa* of Sanchi 'which was originally built in the third century BC'.[136] In fact, the appellation *devanirmita* used for the Jaina brick-*stūpa* should not lead us very far into antiquity; it is

129. *JS*, p. 10; *IGI*, II, p. 102.
130. *CHI*, I, p. 617.
131. *Ibid.*
132. *JAA*, I. Editorial, pp. 6-7.
133. *Ibid.*
134. *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 147.
135. A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, 1962, p. 14. Some scholars hold that the *stūpa* of Bharhut was built in the second century BC.
136. John Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, 1918, p. 31. Some scholars hold that the *stūpa* of Sanchi was built in the first century BC

probably indicative of the fact that it was held in great veneration by the Jaina devotees.[137]

The foregoing discussion on the antiquity of the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā does not end at this point. It has to be discussed from yet another angle. The rough drawing of the plan of this *stūpa* reveals that this was not a product of solid brick-work.[138] Many spaces within the framework of this *stūpa* were probably filled in with clay.[139] It is, thus, evident that part of this brick-*stūpa* was built of clay. The bricks used in the construction of this *stūpa* were of many sizes.[140] Some of them were about 15" square and 6" thick; some others were long and comparatively narrow.[141] The smallest bricks were about 7" broad and 2" thic k.[142] The smaller bricks were better burnt than the larger ones.[143]

In view of these facts it is not unreasonable to assume that the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, which probably enshrined the relics of Pārśvanātha, was originally built of clay in the eighth century BC. But it was converted into a brick-*stūpa* when burnt bricks, too, became a medium of construction in north India. It is certain that the Jaina *stūpa* of Mathurā was neither built of burnt bricks nor converted into a brick-*stūpa* in the fifth century BC. It will be shown in the next chapter that it was built on the model of the Buddhist *stūpa*s of Bharhut and Sanchi. It was, thus, a contemporary or near-contemporary of the *stūpa*s of Sanchi and Bharhut. The Jaina brick-*stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was a successor of the clay-*stūpa* built in honour of Pārśvanātha in the eighth century BC. It is important to note that the *stūpa*s of solid brick-work, like the

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137. *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 7.
138. *JS*, p. 10 Plate III; *JAA*, I, p. 53.
139. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
140. *Ibid.*, p. 11 Plates IV and V.
141. *Ibid.*
142. *Ibid.*
143. *Ibid.*

stūpa of Piparava, were rare.[144] Prior to the fifth century BC, the *stūpa*s were built of clay; subsequently, earth was replaced by kiln-baked brick slabs to provide strength and longevity to these structures.[145]

The *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, which was an object of supreme veneration for the Jaina community, and around which a big Jaina establishment had grown, enjoyed a very long life. Somadeva's *Yaśastilakacampū*, composed in AD 959, reveals that it was in existence at the time of the composition of this text, and was even then known as *devanirmita*.[146] Epigraphic sources reveal that this *stūpa* termed *devanirmita* due to its hoary antiquity[147], continued to exist at least up to AD 979.[148]

Unfortunately, the *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā became an object of dispute between the Jainas and the Buddhists.[149] We learn from the Jaina tradition recorded in *Vyavahārasūtra Bhāṣya*, *Bṛhat-Kathākośa* of Hariṣena, *Yaśastilakacampū* of Somadeva, and *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri that the Buddhists entered into a dispute with the Jainas for the possession of the *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.[150] The controversy regarding the ownership of this *stūpa* raged for about six months, but the issue was decided in favour of the Jainas by the king.[151]

We have already stated that some Buddhist antiquities also came to light as a result of excavations conducted at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. The discovery of some Buddhist antiquities, too, from this site needs explanation. There is no doubt that originally Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was sanctified by the construction of a Jaina

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144. *JS*, p. 10.
145. *IGI*, II, p. 102; V.S. Agrawala, *Mathurā Kalā*, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
146. *Yaśastilaka*, p. 433; *JAA*, I, p. 53.
147. SML no. J.20; *MCH*, p. 332.
148. *Ibid.*, no. J. 236; *Ibid.*
149. *LDJC*, p. 309.
150. V.S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, 1965, p. 167.
151. *Ibid.*

stūpa.[152] Subsequently, when this spot gained importance, the Buddhists who were a powerful community at Mathurā during the first and the second century AD, seem to have appropriated a portion of Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā for building a monument sacred to their religion.[153] It was because of this temporary trespass that some Buddhist sculptures, too, were discovered from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.[154]

The legend of the Jaina *stūpa* as recorded by Somadeva in his *Yaśastilakacampū* reveals that rivalry existed between the Jainas and the Buddhists at Mathurā.[155] We are told that the Buddhist wife of Pūtikavāhana tried to abolish the eight-day festival of the Jainas at Mathurā, and replace it by a celebration in honour of the Buddha.[156] But her attempt was foiled by Vajrakumāra, and the great Jaina festival at Mathurā continued without obstacle.[157] We shall turn to the architecture of the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā in the next chapter.

The Jaina temples and monasteries (vihāras) at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā

As a result of Fuhrer's excavations the remnants of two Jaina temples also came to light at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. According to Fuhrer, one of these temples belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect and the other to the Digambara sect.[158] A Jaina shrine or temple (*pāsāda*) existed at Mathurā as early as the second century BC. This is proved by an inscription incised on a large ornamental rectangular slab, which is a record of the dedication of a *pāsāda toraṇa* by a śrāvaka named Uttaradāsaka.[159] This inscription does not contain a date. But on linguistic and palaeographic grounds it has been assigned to the second century BC.[160] Another inscription

152. V.S. Agarwala, *Studies in Indian Art*, *op. cit.*, p. 167.
153. *Ibid.*
154. *Ibid.*
155. *Yaśastilaka*, p. 434.
156. *Ibid.*
157. *Ibid.*
158. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 2-3.
159. *EI*, II, no. 1 and Plate; *EI*, X, Appendix, Lüders List, no. 93.
160. *EI*, II, p. 195; *HJM*, p. 99.

incised on the back of a broken sculptured *toraṇa* records the gift of a temple by Dhāmghoṣā, a female disciple of venerable Jayasena.[161] This inscription has been dated to about the beginning of the Christian era.[162] Because two Jaina temples were discovered from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, the natural inference from these inscriptions is that one of them was built before 150 BC, and the other about the beginning of the Christian era.[163]

Most of the Jaina inscriptions which came to light in 1889 were discovered from the central temple at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā.[164] According to Fuhrer, this temple belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect.[165] He formed this opinion on the basis of two inscribed images dated VS 1038 and VS 1134.[166] The images discovered from the site of this temple are, however, nude.[167] According to Fuhrer, the second or western Jaina temple, which was excavated in 1889-90, belonged to the Digambara sect, and the finds of 1890 were discovered mainly from the site of this temple.[168]

Fuhrer conducted his excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā in an extremely negligent manner. Therefore, no account of his researches at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā is available; the only exception is the meagre information which is embodied in his Museum Reports for those years.[169] It is because of this negligence that V.A. Smith could not indicate the spots where these temples stood at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā when he published the plan of this site in his book.[170] The two Jaina temples built at

161. *EL*, II, no. 4 and Plate; *EI*, X, Appendix, Lüders List no. 99; *JAA*, I, pp. 51-2; SML no. J.540.
162. *JS*, Introduction, p. 3; *JAA*, I, pp. 51-2.
163. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 3.
164. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
165. *Ibid.*
166. *Ibid.*
167. *Ibid.*
168. *Ibid.*
169. *ASIAR*, 1906-7, pp. 140-1.
170. *JS*, p. 8. Plate I; *MI*, p. 41.

Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā also enjoyed a long life. Epigraphic sources reveal that these temples were in existence as late as the eleventh century AD.[171]

One of the fragmentary *āyāga-paṭṭa*s, presently in the collection of Government Museum, Mathurā, contains the word *vihāra*.[172] It is certain that *vihāra*s (monasteries), too, were built for the residence of the Jaina monks.[173] Inscriptions reveal that many more Jaina shrines existed at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period. These shrines will be outlined in the next chapter. To the architecture of these structures, too, we shall turn in the next chapter.

The Jaina life at Mathurā

THE SPLIT IN THE JAINA CHURCH

We have already stated that the remnants of two Jaina temples were exposed as a result of Fuhrer's excavations at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā and that he described one of them as belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect and the other to the Digambara sect. The bulk of Jaina inscriptions excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā belongs to the Kuṣāṇa period and has been assigned to the first and the second century AD.[174] According to one view, the split which divided the Jainas into the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras occurred in either AD 79 or AD 82,[175] i.e., in the first century AD, and according to the other, this split occurred in AD 142,[176] i.e., in the second century AD. From Fuhrer's statements it appears that during this period the Jainas of Mathurā were also divided into the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. Buhler, who translated, interpreted and edited the Jaina inscriptions sent by Fuhrer,[177] expressed the view that the inscriptions from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā reveal

171. *JS*, Introduction, p. 4.
172. *JAA*, I, p. 52.
173. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
174. *EI*, X, Appendix, Lüders List, pp. 2 ff; *JS*, Introduction, pp. 1 ff; *OISJ*, p. 42; *LDJC*, p. 28; *EI*, I, p. 371.
175. *GD*, p. 108; *CHAI*, III, p. 297 fn. 4; *JIR*, p. 54; *CMHI*, II, p. 362.
176. *CHAI*, III, p. 282; *CMHI*, II, p. 362.
177. *EI*, I, p. 371 fn. 2; *EI*, II, p. 195 fn. 1.

that the Jainas of Mathurā were Śvetāmbaras, and that the schism which divided the Jainas into two sects occurred long before the beginning of the Christian era.[178]

It is necessary to make mention of three *tīrthaṁkara* images excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā for an examination of Fuhrer's view. Excavations conducted at this mound brought to light two colossal images of *tīrthaṁkara* Padmaprabhanātha dated VS 1038 and VS. 1134,[179] corresponding to AD 981 and AD 1077 respectively,[180] and an image of four-fold Vardhamāna fashioned in VS 1080, corresponding to AD 1023.[181]According to Fuhrer, these inscribed images of Padmaprabhanātha came from the central temple at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā,[182] and were donative gifts of the Śvetāmbara community.[183] The four-fold image of Vardhamāna was discovered from the site of the second temple, which according to Nagari inscriptions was in the hands of the Digambara community as late as VS 1080 or AD 1023.[184]

Buhler derived his conclusions on two grounds. The first of the two Jaina temples excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was assigned to the second century BC, and the second to about the beginning of the Christian era. Because Fuhrer described one of these two temples as a Śvetāmbara and the other as a Digambara edifice, Buhler thought that the split in the Jaina community occurred long before the beginning of the Christian era, and not in the first or second century AD. Inscriptions have revealed that the Jaina community of Mathurā was divided into sections called *gaṇa*, *śākhā* and *kula*.[185] Because

178. *OISJ*, p. 44.
179. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 2-3 and Plates XCV and XCVI; A. Fuhrer, *North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions*, 1891, p. 106.
180. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 2 fn 2.
181. *Ibid.*, p. 47 Figure 3.
182. *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 6.
183. A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.*, p. 106; *JS*, Introduction, p. 6.
184. *JS*, Introduction, p. 6.
185. *OISJ*, pp. 42-3.

exactly the same division of the Jainas is contained in a list in the *Kalpasūtra*, one of the canonical works of the Śvetāmbaras, Buhler concluded that the Jaina community of Mathurā belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect.[186]

Buhler derived many wrong conclusions from his study of the Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā. We have already stated that the earliest of Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā belongs to the second century BC, and the last to the eleventh century AD. No one of these inscriptions contains hint of the division of the Jaina community into the Śvetāmbara sect and the Digambara sect at Mathurā.[187] The split in the Jaina Church was a gradual process,[188] and, if there was a split at Mathurā too, it at least did not find manifestation in the Jaina inscriptions of this city.

Fuhrer had stated that the inscribed images of *tīrthaṁkara* Padmaprabhanātha dated VS 1038 and VS 1134 were discovered from the central temple, and this belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect.[189] But these images are nude.[190] In fact, all *tīrthaṁkara* images of the Kuṣāṇa period discovered at Mathurā are nude.[191] The nudity of these images has led scholars to two conclusions. Cunningham opines that the nudity of the *jina* images of the Kuṣāṇa period is indicative of the fact that they belonged to the Digambara sect.[192] On the other hand, B.C. Bhattacharya and U.P. Shah hold that the difference between the images of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras in respect of drapery and nudity did not exist in the Kuṣāṇa period.[193]

The *Kalpasūtra* is believed to have been composed by Bhadrabāhu around 300 BC. The Jainas were not divided into the Śvetāmbara sect and the

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186. *OISJ*, 42-3.
187. See *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2 ff; also see *LDJC*, p. 28.
188. *ERE*, VII, p. 473; *AOIU*, p. 416; *JSS*, p. 45; *LDJC*, p. 28.
189. A. Fuhrer, *op. cit.*, p. 106; *JS*, Introduction, p. 6.
190. *JS*, Introduction, p. 6.
191. *ASIAR*, III, pp. 45-6; *SIJA*, p. 11.
192. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-6.
193. *JI*, p. 42; *SIJA*, p. 11.

Digambara sect at the time of the composition of the *Kalpasūtra*. Therefore, Buhler's conclusion that 'the division of the Jainas at Mathurā in *gaṇa*, *kula* and *śākhā* in the Kuṣāṇa period on the lines of a list embodied in the *Kalpasūtra* is evidence of the fact that the Jainas of this city were Śvetāmbaras'[194] does not stand to reason. The split in the Jaina community of Mathurā, as will be seen later, occurred at a much later period. The two Jaina sects appear to have lived in harmony in this city. The inscriptions discovered at Mathurā do not contain hint of the split in the Jaina Church. We find no mention of ill-will or dispute between the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras at Mathurā in contemporary literature also.

The Jaina life in the Kuṣāṇa period

STATE OF JAINISM IN MATHURĀ

Brāhmaṇism was the original religion of Mathurā. Available data proves that five or six centuries before Christ Mathurā was a predominantly Hindu city.[195] After the advent of Jainism and Buddhism Mathurā became a multi-religious city. Brāhmaṇism retained its popularity in this city.[196] But inscriptions and sculptures bear testimony to the fact that Jainism and Buddhism were also popular in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.[197]

Available archaeological data is a pointer that Jainism was in a flourishing state in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period,[198] and, if the number of inscriptions belonging to this period discovered from this city is made the criterion of judgement, Jainism appears to have been as popular at Mathurā as Buddhism, if not more, during the period under review.[199] In fact, the Jaina inscriptions

194. *OISJ*, pp. 44-5.
195. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. IV, 1953, p. 689.
196. *MCH*, p. 64; V.S. Agrawala, *Masterpieces of Mathurā Sculpture*, 1985, p. 1.
197. *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2 ff.
198. *Ibid.*, pp. 2 ff; *JS*, Introduction, pp. 1 ff; *JAA*, I, p. 52; *HJM*, p. 100.
199. *ASIAR*, III, p. 46; *AJAA*, p. 81.

of the Kuṣāṇa period discovered at Mathurā far exceed the contemporary inscriptions of other religions found from this city.[200]

There is no evidence that Jainism enjoyed the partronage of the Kuṣāṇa rulers.[201] The credit for the popularity of Jainism at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period goes to its splendid monastic organisation and the religious zeal and fervour of its adherents. The religious policy of the Kuṣāṇa rulers was tolerant. The majority of the Mathurā Jainas belonged to the trading classes. The Kuṣāṇa kings needed the support of the trading classes for the stability and success of their empire. Therefore, they adopted a tolerant attitude towards Jainism. The liberal religious policy of the Kuṣāṇa rulers indirectly contributed to the rise of Jainism at Mathurā.

THE JAINA COMMUNITY AT MATHURĀ

Jainism drew its followers at Mathurā from all sections of society. The majority of the Jainas belonged to the trading classes. But some of them belonged to professions or groups which were not rated high.[202] The Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā are dedicatory inscriptions. They reveal that the Jaina donors of images, *āyāga-paṭṭa*s, temples, etc., belonged to a wide variety of groups and professions. The inscriptions discovered at Mathurā mention the Jaina donors as daughter-in-law of the ironmonger,[203] wife of a caravan leader,[204] wife of a dyer,[205] mother of the perfumer,[206] the perfumer,[207] the

200. *EI,* X, Appendix, pp. 2 ff; *JPV,* p. 18; *AJAA*, p. 81; J.E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, 1949, p. 149 fn 16.
201. *JPV*, p. 18; Bhaskar Chattopadhyaya, *Kuṣāṇa State and Indian Society*, 1975, p. 171.
202. *EI,* X, Appendix, no. 102; *MM,* no.Q.2; B.N. Puri, *India Under the Kuṣāṇa*s, 1965, p. 149.
203. *Ibid.*, no. 29.
204. *Ibid.,* no. 30.
205. *Ibid.,* no. 32.
206. *Ibid.,* no. 37.
207. *Ibid.,* no. 39.

banker,[208] wife of the village headman,[209] worker in metal,[210] wife of the perfumer,[211] daughter of treasurer,[212] daughter-in-law of the perfumer,[213] son of a *vātsī*,[214] the goldsmith,[215] wife of the cotton dealer,[216] son of a *gauptī*,[217] son of a *maudgalī*,[218] wife of the dancer,[219] son of a *kauśikī*,[220] the member of the committee (*goṣṭhī*),[221] the courtesan,[222] etc.

The Jaina community was pious and affluent. The monuments built at Mathurā by the Jaina community provide ample evidence of its religious zeal and affluence.[223] The Jainas loved to carve images and erect religious buildings. A Jaina text informs that the citizens of Mathurā and ninety-six villages adjoining this city installed Jaina idols in their houses and court-yards.[224] The Jaina community of Mathurā had a large number of female lay-worshippers who did not lag behind their male counterparts in religious fervour and passion for producing images and religious edifices. The inscriptions exacavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā are replete with the names of Jaina female lay-worshippers, who made donations in the form of images, *devakula*s, temples, reservoirs, stone slabs, etc.

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208. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 41.
209. *Ibid.*, no. 48.
210. *Ibid.*, no. 53.
211. *Ibid.*, no. 68.
212. *Ibid.*, no. 74.
213. *Ibid.*, no. 76.
214. *Ibid.*, no. 93.
215. *Ibid.*, no. 95.
216. *MI*, p. 47 no. 15.
217. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 96.
218. *Ibid.*, no. 97.
219. *Ibid.*, no. 100.
220. *Ibid.*, no. 105.
221. *Ibid.*, no. 53.
222. *Ibid.*, no. 102.
223. *JAA*, I, p. 52.
224. *LDJC*, pp. 255, 309.

We learn from an inscription excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā that Dhāmghoṣā (Dharmaghoṣā), a female disciple of venerable Jayasena, made a donation in the form of a temple (*pāsāda*).[225] Another inscription speaks of the donation of an image of Mahāvīra, and of a shrine (*devakula*) by a lady named Ujhatikā.[226] An inscription incised on a sculptured slab,[227] which forms part of the collection of Government Museum, Mathurā,[228] reveals that a courtesan named Vāsu, daughter of courtesan Loṇaśobhikā (Lavaṇaśobhikā), together with some of her relatives, made a donation in the form of a shrine (*devakula*), an *āyāga-sabhā*, a reservoir and stone slabs (*śilā-paṭṭa*) to the *arhat* temple of the Nirgranthas for the worship of the *arhat*s.[229]

The Jaina inscriptions excavated from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā contain some unusual female names like Ujhatikā,[230] Okhārikā,[231] Okhā,[232] Oghā[233] and Akakā.[234] The occurrence of such names suggests that some foreigners, too, had converted to Jainism.[235] Jainism stands for the salvation of all men — considered high or low.[236] It opened its arms even to those aliens who were despised as the *mleccha* in India.[237] Jainism had in its fold many foreigners, too, and they had been mainly converted from among the Scythian immigrants.[238] The spread of the Digambara sect in an island in the Indian Ocean, called Jainabhadri, and,

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225. *EI, X,* Appendix, no. 99.
226. *Ibid.,* no. 78.
227. MM no. Q.2.
228. *Ibid.*
229. *Ibid.*
230. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 78., *JPV.*, p. 18.
231. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
232. *Ibid.*
233. *Ibid.,* no. *29; JPV,* p. 18; B.N. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
234. *Ibid.*, no. 48; *Ibid.; Ibid.*
235. *JPV*, p. 18; B.N. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
236. *OISJ*, p. 3.
237. *Ibid.*
238. *EWA*, VIII, p. 787.

Arabia, indicates that the Jainas were familiar with the idea of the conversion of foreigners.[239] Hiuen Tsang's account makes it clear that Jainism had won converts in Kapiśā, i.e., beyond the borders of India in the north-west.[240] Numerous foreigners lived in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period. The females named Ujhatikā, Okhārikā, etc., if they were foreigners, as appears from their names, probably converted to Jainism from among these immigrants.

The Jainas were called Nirgranthas in Mathurā even during the Kuṣāṇa period.[241] The *tīrthaṁkaras* and the *siddhas* were held in great esteem by the Jainas. The donation made by a Jaina in the form of an image was often inscribed with an invocation of a particular *arhat*,[242] or the *arhats* and the *siddhas*.[243] We do not find use of the epithets *jina*, *tīrthaṁkara* and *tīrthakara* in the Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā.[244] The epithets used for the *jina* or the *tīrthakara* were *arhat*[245] or *arahaṁtas* (*arhats*)[246] or *bhagavata*.[247] The Buddhists also used the epithet *bhagavata* for the Buddha at Mathurā.[248]

Construction of temples and setting up of the images of the *tīrthaṁkaras* and *āyāga-paṭṭas* was the most significant aspect of the religious life of the Jainas at Mathurā. It was a holy task in which all Jainas — male and female, high and low — participated with pleasure. The Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā reveal that the bulk of donations by Jaina lay-devotees, male and female, was made at the request or command of the Jaina preceptors belonging to the various schools.[249] The religious zeal of the Jaina monks and nuns knew no

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239. *OISJ*, p. 4 fn 4.
240. Samuel Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. *263; HOIC,* I, p. 167; *OISJ,* p. 4 fn 4.
241. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 102.
242. *Ibid.,* no. 59.
243. *Ibid.*, no. 57.
244. *Ibid.,* Appendix, pp. *2* ff.
245. *Ibid.,* nos. 47, 59, etc.
246. *Ibid.,* no. 57.
247. *Ibid.,* nos. 24, 26, 27.
248. *Ibid.,* no. 43.
249. *Ibid.*, nos. 16, 18, 20, etc.

bounds. They either requested or issued commands to the Jaina lay-devotees to make donations in the form of images, etc., and their command or request or wish for the same was fulfilled by their male and female disciples.[250]

It appears certain that the Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā were composed either by the preceptors (monks and nuns), who acted as spiritual directors of the lay-devotees, or by the pupils of the preceptors.[251] This fact does not find mention in these inscriptions,[252] but in numerous later inscriptions of the same character we find the names of the *yati*s who composed them.[253] The Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā are replete with the names of male and female donors and their relatives; they also mention the names of the male and female preceptors along with their schools, at whose command or request the donations were made.[254]

The Jaina images were installed in the temples,[255] houses and court-yards.[256] Probably, they were installed in open spaces also.[257] It appears that the Jaina temple at Mathurā had a main shrine called the *devakula*, an *āyāga-sabhā* or a sacred hall or place, and a reservoir (*prapā*).[258] Stone slabs called *āyāga-paṭṭa* or *śilā-paṭṭa* were also installed in the temples for worship.[259] The Jaina temples were probably residences of the ascetics also.[260] The Jaina images were sometimes installed at the *stūpa* also.[261] The temple of the *arhat*s

250. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 16, 50, etc.
251. *EI*, I, p. 377.
252. *Ibid.*
253. *Ibid.*
254. *Ibid.*, X, Appendix, nos. 16, 24, 27-9, etc.
255. *Ibid.*, Appendix, no. 78.
256. *LDJC*, pp. 255, 309.
257. *JAA*, I, p. 52.
258. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 102; B.N. Puri, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
259. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
260. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
261. *Ibid.*, no. 47.

(*arhatāyatana*) at Mathurā[262] appears to have been a famous or important shrine.

The Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was built many centuries before Christ. The natural inference is that *stūpa*-worship was in vogue in this city even before the establishment of the Kuṣāṇa rule in the first century AD. The dedication of an image of *arhat* Nandyāvarta (Aranātha) at the so-called *vodva stūpa* at Mathurā by a female lay-worshipper named Dinā (Dattā)[263] provides evidence of *stūpa*-worship among the Jainas in the Kuṣāṇa period also. Image-worship was in vogue among the Jainas at Mathurā even before the commencement of the Christian era. The existence of a Jaina temple in this city in the second century BC provides unmistakable evidence of this practice. Worship of the *jina*s was an established practice among the Jainas at Mathurā in the first and the second century AD. Donation of the images of *arhat*s Ṛṣabha,[264] Śāntinātha,[265] Ariṣṭanemi,[266] Pārśvanātha,[267] Mahāvīra,[268] etc., by the Jaina lay-devotees during this period bears testimony to this fact. Male and female deities of the Jaina pantheon like Naigmeṣa and Sarasvatī were also worshipped during this period. A Jaina worker in metal at Mathurā donated an image of Sarasvatī,[269] the goddess of learning in Hinduism and Jainism. This image of Sarasvatī, which forms part of the collection of State Museum, Lucknow,[270] is the oldest image of this goddess discovered in India.[271] This discovery proves that worship of Sarasvatī was also in vogue among the Jainas

262. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 47.
263. *Ibid.*
264. *Ibid.*, nos. 56, 117, 121, etc.
265. *Ibid.*, no. 27.
266. *Ibid.*, no. 26.
267. *Ibid.*, no. 110.
268. *Ibid.*, nos. 18, 28, 31, etc.
269. *Ibid.*, no. 54.
270. SML no. J.24; *JAA*, I, Plate 20.
271. *SIJA*, p. 11; *JAA*, I, p. 67.

of this city in the Kuṣāṇa period.[272]

The Jaina lay-worshippers donated numerous *āyāga-paṭṭas*[273] which, too, were objects of worship.[274] Architectural and sculptural antiquities brought to light by excavations at Mathurā reveal that the Jainas worshipped the images of the *arhats* in the *kāyotsarga* and the *dhyānastha-mudrā*; they also worshipped the *stūpa*, the *dharmacakra*, the *āyāga-paṭṭa*, the *dhvaja*-pillar, auspicious symbols like the *svastika*, the *śrīvatsa* mark, the full-blown lotus, a pair of fish, minor male and female deities, etc., in this city.[275] *Yakṣa*-worship, *nāga*-worship and tree-worship also formed part of the religious life of the Jainas.[276]

THE JAINA MONASTIC ORGANISATION AT MATHURĀ

The Jaina Church at Mathurā was a splendidly organised institution. The inscriptions reveal that support for Jainism in this city came mainly from the trading classes of society like workers in metal, ironmongers, perfumers, goldsmiths, cotton dealers, bankers, etc. The Jaina Church in this city enjoyed the support of a strong, affluent and well-organised body of lay-followers. The *catuvarṇa saṁgha* or the community of the four orders,[277] consisting of the monks, the nuns, and the lay-followers, male and female, was in excellent shape. Donations in the form of an image were sometimes addressed to, or made to the community of the four orders.[278] The Jaina monks and nuns were fired with unbounded missionary zeal. The inscriptions discovered at Mathurā reveal that the majority of donations by the Jaina male and female lay-followers were made at the request or command of the monks and the nuns.[279] The Jaina order of monks was well-organised, and was strongly supported also.

272. *SIJA*, p. 11.
273. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 94.
274. *SIJA*, p. 11; *JAA*, I, pp. 63-5.
275. *EI*, X, Appendix pp. 2ff; *SIJA*, pp. 10-11.
276. V.S. Agrawala, *Ancient Indian Folk Cults*, 1970, pp. 104, 116, 180.
277. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 57.
278. *Ibid.*
279. *Ibid.*, pp. 2ff.

The order of the nuns was equally well-organised and supported. The role of female lay-devotees was also significant. They were requested or ordered by the nuns to make donations. And, they complied with devotion.[280] Female lay-devotees did not renounce domestic life,[281] but remained firm in their religious belief.

We learn from the *Kalpasūtra* that the Jaina monks were divided into units or divisions called the *gaṇa*s, the *kula*s and the *śākhā*s.[282] The *gaṇa* meant the school; its sub-divisions were called the *kula* and the *śākhā*.[283] Some of the *gaṇa*s mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* derived their names from the name of the originator or the originators of the *gaṇa*.[284] Some of the *kula*s and the *śākhā*s derived their names from regions, and some from persons.[285] The practice of dividing the Jaina monks into units called the *gaṇa*, the *kula* and the *śākhā* originated in the second century BC or earlier.[286] It must have been in vogue at the time of Bhadrabāhu's composition of the *Kalpasūtra*.

A large number of Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā contains the names of the donors; they also mention the names of the preceptors or religious teachers at whose request or command the donations were made; the names of the *gaṇa*s, the *kula*s and the *śākhā*s to which these preceptors belonged also find mention in these inscriptions.[287] These epigraphs reveal that the Jaina monks at Mathurā were organised on the lines mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra*. They were divided into units called the *gaṇa*, the *kula*, the *śākhā* and the *sambhoga*. We do not find mention of the unit called the *sambhoga* in the *Kalpasūtra*.[288]

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280. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 20, 22, 27, etc.
281. *Ibid.*, appendix, nos. 24, 28, 32.
282. *OISJ*, pp. 42-3; *HJM*, pp. 515-19.
283. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-3.
284. *HJM*, *p*. 518.
285. *Ibid.*
286. *Ibid.*, p. 519.
287. *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2 ff; *OISJ*, p. 42.
288. *HJM*, p. 519.

Buhler, too, did not mention this unit in his writings on this subject.[289] But we find frequent mention of the unit called the *sambhoga* in the Jaina inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period discovered at Mathurā. The fragment of a Jaina inscription in mixed dialect discovered from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā reads:

> Dedication by Mittrā (Mitrā), first wife of . . . daughter-in-law of the ironmonger . . . daughter of the . . . at the request of the preacher (*vāchaka*) . . ., the pupil of . . . the preacher, . . ., who was the companion of the *gaṇin* . . ., who was the pupil of . . . out of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*, the Brahmdāsika *kula*, the Uchchairnāgarī śākhā, the Śrīgṛha *sambhoga*.[290]

The statements about the Jaina religious teachers and their schools embodied in the Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā are important for the study of the early history of Jainism.[291] Buhler's study of these epigraphs revealed that out of the eight *gaṇa*s mentioned in the Sthavirāvali of the *Kalpasūtra*, three or possibly four *gaṇa*s existed in Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa period.[292] He also found that out of the numerous *kula*s and *śākhā*s mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra*, twenty existed in Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa period.[293] Buhler's view that the Jainas in Mathurā belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect during the Kuṣāṇa period was formed on the basis of this similarity.[294] We have already stated that there is no hint of the split in the Jaina Church of Mathurā in this city's inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period.

The eight *gaṇa*s mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* are — (1) the Cāraṇa *gaṇa*, (2) The Godāsa *gaṇa*, (3) the Koḍiya *gaṇa*, (4) the Māṇava *gaṇa*, (5) the Uddeha *gaṇa*, (6) the Uḍuvāḍiya *gaṇa* (7) the Uttarabalissaha *gaṇa* and (8) the Vesavāḍiya *gaṇa*.[295] Out of these eight *gaṇa*s, three — (1) The Vāraṇa *gaṇa*,[296]

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289. *OISJ*, pp. 42-3.
290. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 29.
291. *OISJ*, p. 58.
292. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-60.
293. *Ibid.*
294. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

called the Cāraṇa *gaṇa* in the *Kalpasūtra*;[297] (2) the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa*,[298] called the Koḍiya *gaṇa* in the *Kalpasūtra*;[299] and (3) the Odehikīya[300] or the Uddehikīya *gaṇa*,[301] called the Uddeha *gaṇa* in the *Kalpasūtra*,[302] flourished in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.[303] The *Kalpasūtra* mentions the Mehiya *kula* as one of the *kula*s of the Vesavāḍiya *gaṇa*.[304] We find mention of the Mehika or Maighika *kula* in one of the Jaina inscriptions discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā.[305] This is the reason for assuming that probably, the Vesavāḍiya *gaṇa* also existed in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.[306]

According to the *Kalpasūtra*, Śrīgupta of the Hārīta *gotra* founded the Cāraṇa *gaṇa*, and it was divided into four *śakhā*s and seven *kula*s.[307] The four *śākhā*s of the Cāraṇa *gaṇa* mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* are — (1) The Gavedhuyā *śākhā*, (2) the Hāriyamālāgārī *śākhā*, (3) the Saṁkāsiā *śākhā* and (4) the Vajjanāgarī *śākhā*.[308] Three of these four *śākhā*s of the Cārana or the Vāraṇa *gaṇa* — (1) Saṁkāsiā[309] (2) Hāriyamālāgārī[310] and (3) Vajjanāgarī[311] -

295. *HJM,* pp. 515-18.
296. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 58, 116, etc.
297. *OISJ*, p. 59; *HJM,* p. 515.
298. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 22, 24, etc.
299. *OISJ,* p. 58; *HJM,* p. 516.
300. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 76.
301. *Ibid.*
302. *HJM,* p. 517.
303. *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2 ff., nos, 54, 56, 76, 58, 116.
304. *HJM,* p. 518.
305. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 70.
306. *OISJ*, p. 58; *HJM,* p. 518.
307. *Ibid.*, p. 59; *Ibid.,* p. 515.
308. *Ibid.*; *Ibid.*
309. *EI,* II, no. 36; *HJM,* p. 515.
310. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 42.
311. *Ibid.*, no. 16.

with slight variation in name, existed at Mathurā in the first and second century AD.[312]

The seven *kula*s of the Cāraṇa *gaṇa* mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* are — (1) the Ajjaveḍaya *kula*, (2) the Hāllija *kula*, (3) the Kaṇhasaha *kula*, (4) the Māllijja *kula*, (5) the Pudhammiya *kula*, (6) the Pūsamittijja *kula* and (7) the Vathalijja *kula*.[313] The *kula*s of the Vāraṇa *gaṇa* which existed in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period were — (1) the Ārya Hāṭṭikīya *kula*[314] (2) the Praitivarmika *kula*,[315] (3) the Puṣyamitrīya *kula*,[316] (4) The Ārya Cetika *kula*,[317] (5) the Ārya Bhista *kula*[318] (6) The Ārya Kaniyāsika *kula*[319] and (7) the Nādika or Nāḍika *kula*.[320] One *sambhoga* of the Vāraṇa *gaṇa* also existed in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period. It was the Ārya Śrīkīya *sambhoga*.[321]

The *Kalpasūtra* informs that the Koḍiya *gaṇa* was founded by Susṭhita and Supratibuddha.[322] The four *śakhā*s of this *gaṇa* are — (1) the Majjhimillā *śakhā*, (2) the Vairī *śākhā*, (3) the Vajjāharī *śākhā*, and (4) the Uccānāgarī *śākhā*.[323] The Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* is mentioned in a large number of Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā.[324] It was one of the oldest and most respected *gaṇa*s.[325] Buhler opined that this *gaṇa* originated in 250 BC[326] and was the only *gaṇa* which

312. *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2ff; *HJM*, p. 515.
313. *HJM*, p. 515; *OISJ*, p. 59.
314. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 16.
315. *Ibid.*, no. 31.
316. *Ibid.*, no. 34.
317. *Ibid.*, no. 16.
318. *Ibid.*, no. 50.
319. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 113.
320. *Ibid.*, no. 117.
321. *Ibid.*, no. 50.
322. *OISJ*, pp. 58-9.
323. *HJM*, p. 516.
324. *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2ff.
325. *HJM*, p. 518.
326. *EI*, I, p. 379-80.

existed as late as the fourteenth century AD.[327] All *śākhās* of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* called — (1) the Ucchanāgarī *śākhā*,[328] (2) the Madhyamā *śākhā*,[329] (3) the Vajranāgarī *śākhā*[330] and (4) the Vairī or Vajrī *śākhā*[331] or the Ārya Vajrī *śākhā*[332] or the Vairī Vajrī *śākhā*[333] — existed in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.

The *Kalpasūtra* mentions four *kulas* of the Koḍiya *gaṇa* — (1) the Bambhalijja *kula*, (2) the Vāṇijja *kula*, (3) the Paṇhavāhaṇaya *kula* and (4) the Vathalijja *kula*.[334] The *kulas* of the Koṭṭiya *gaṇa* which existed in Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period were — (1) the Brahmadāsika *kula*,[335] (2) theSthānikīya *kula*,[336] (3) the Vātsaliya *kula*,[337] (4) the Sthānīya *kula*[338] and (5) the Praśnavāhanaka *kula*.[339] This *gaṇa* had one *sambhoga* also. It was called the Śrīgṛha *sambhoga* at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.[340]

The *gaṇa* called Uddeha in the *Kalpasūtra*[341] was known as the Uddehikīya *gaṇa*[342] or the Ārya Uddehikīya *gaṇa*[343] at Mathurā. There are only two references to this *gaṇa* in the Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā. The *Kalpasūtra*

327. *EI*, I, p. 379.
328. *Ibid.*, X, Appendix, nos. 19, 20, etc.
329. *Ibid.*, no. 73.
330. *Ibid.*, no. 16.
331. *Ibid.*, no. 22.
332. *Ibid.*, no. 27.
333. *Ibid.*, no. 28.
334. *HJM*, p. 516.
335. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 19, 20, etc.
336. *EI*, I, no. 8; *EI*, II, no. 29.
337. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 22, 27, etc.
338. *EI*, II, no. 23.
339. *HJM*, pp. 516-18.
340. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 27.
341. *HJM*, p. 517.
342. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 76.
343. *Ibid.*, no. 21.

makes mention of four *śākhās* of this *gaṇa*.[344] Only one *śākhā* of this *gaṇa* existed at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.[345] It was called the Paitāputrika *śākhā*.[346] According to the *Kalpasūtra*, the Uddeha *gaṇa* had six *kulas*.[347] The two *kulas* of this *gaṇa* which existed at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period were — (1) the Ārya Nāgabhūtikīya *kula*[348] and (2) the Paridhāsika *kula*.[349]

According to the *Kalpasūtra*, the Vesavāḍiya *gaṇa* had four *kulas* and four *śākhās*.[350] One of them was called the Mehiya *kula*.[351] Probably, this *kula* was called the Mehika or Maighika *kula* at Mathurā. We find mention of the Mehika or the Maighika *kula* in one of theJaina inscriptions of Mathurā of the Kuṣāṇa period.[352] It is probable that the Vesavāḍiya *gaṇa*, too, existed at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.

The Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā probably provide the earliest information regarding the hierarchy in the Jaina Church. We find repeated mention of the titles *gaṇin*,[353] *vācaka*,[354] *śraddhacara*,[355] *śraddhacarī*,[356] *aṁtevāsin*,[357] *aṁtevāsinī*,[358] or *aṁtevāsiknī*[359] in the Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā. The titles *gaṇin*, *aṁtevāsin* and *vācaka* find mention in literature also.

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344. *HJM*, p. 517.
345. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 76.
346. *Ibid.* no. 76.
347. *HJM*, p. 517.
348. *EI*, I, no. 19.
349. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 76.
350. *HJM*, p. 518.
351. *Ibid.*
352. *EI*, I, no. 2.
353. *Ibid.*, nos. 4, 6, etc.
354. *EI*, X, Appendix, nos. 22, 27, etc.
355. *Ibid.*, no. 29.
356. *EI*, I, no. 1; *EI*, II, no. 11.
357. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 93.
358. *Ibid.*, no. 99.
359. *Ibid.*, no. 67.

The title *gaṇin* was used for the head of the *gaṇa* or the school.[360] The title *vācaka* was used for the preacher[361] or the teacher.[362] The title *vācaka* mentioned in these inscriptions is pointer of the fact that as early as the first century AD, the Jaina Church at Mathurā possessed a class of teachers who were duty bound to read and explain religious texts to the junior monks. The title *vācanācārya* was current in Jainism even in the VS 1677,[363] and the title *vācaka* is in use among the Jainas even these days.[364]

The *ācārya*, or the senior monk, was called *arya*[365] or *arrya*[366] or *ārya*.[367] Sometimes even the nuns were called *ārya*[368] instead of *āryā*. The ordinary monk was called *samana*,[369] i.e., *śramaṇa*. The lay-devotee was called *sāvaka*,[370] i.e., *śrāvaka*. The female lay-devotee was called *samana-sāvikā*,[371] i.e., *śramaṇaśrāvikā*. Generally speaking, all Jaina monks were called *ārya*. The title *ārya* was used for the *gaṇin* also.[372] The *ācārya* or the monk was called *bhadata* or *bhadanta* also.[373] The ordinary male disciple was called *aṁtevāsi*[374] or *śiṣya*.[375] The ordinary female disciple was called *aṁtevāsinī*[376] or

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360. *OISJ*, p. 42.
361. *EI*, I, nos. 3, 4, etc.
362. *OISJ*, p. 42.
363. *HJM*, p. 514 fn 6.
364. *OISJ*, p. 42.
365. *EI*, II, no. 20.
366. *ASIAR*, III, no. 3.
367. *EI*, I, no. 19.
368. *Ibid.*, no. 2.
369. *EI*, II, no. 1.
370. *EI*, I, no. 30.
371. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 102.
372. *EI*, I, no. 19.
373. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 99.
374. *Ibid.*, no. 93.
375. *EI*, I, nos. 9, 30, etc.

aṁtevāsikinī[377] or *śiṣyanī*.[378] She was also called *sāvikā*,[379] i.e., *śrāvikā*. The nuns were called *ayikā*[380] also.

Very few Jaina inscriptions belonging to the post-Kuṣāṇa period have come to light at Mathurā. Therefore, it is not possible to throw light on the organisation of the Jaina Church in this city after the end of the Kuṣāṇa period. An inscription of the Gupta period[381] seems to indicate that probably the *gaṇa*s and their sub-divisions existed during this period also. In the inscriptions of the medieval period the titles *ācārya*, *gaṇin*, *upādhyāya*, *sūri* and *bhaṭṭāraka* find repeated mention.[382] Probably, these titles gained currency in Mathurā also. Two peculiar titles embodied in the Jaina inscriptions are *śraddhacara* and *śraddhacarī*. In the inscriptions the *śraddhacara* is mentioned as the companion of the monk.[383] It is reasonable to assume that the *śraddhacara* was the colleague of the monk, or his disciple. The inscriptions mention the *śraddhacarī* as the female companion of the nun.[384] The *śraddhacarī* must have been a colleague or the disciple of the nun.

Mathurā in Jaina literature

Jaina literature is full of stories and references regarding the state of Jainism in Mathurā. These texts describe Mathurā as a centre of heretical ascetics.[385] According to some Jaina texts, Mathurā — also called Uttara Mahurā — was the capital city of Śūrasena country, and this country was acceptable to the

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376. *EI*, II, no. 4.
377. *Ibid.*, no. 21.
378. *EI*, I, no. 1.
379. *EI*, II, no. 2.
380. *Ibid.*, no. 21.
381. *EI*, II, no. XXXIX.
382. *HJM*, p. 514.
383. *EI*, I, no. 4.
384. *EI*, I, no.1; *EI*, II, no. 11.
385. *LDJC*, p. 255.

Jaina monks for sojourn.[386] Jainism was, undoubtedly, in a flourishing state in Mathurā in the first century and the second century AD. But due to the absence of relevant data it is difficult to assign a definite period to the happenings in Mathurā described in the Jaina texts.

The accounts left behind by Jinaprabha Sūri and Somadeva leave us in no doubt that the Jainas viewed Mathurā as a sacred city. In his *Yaśastilakacampū* Somadeva makes mention of Urvilā, a queen of Mathurā, who used to send the *rathayātrā* of the *jina* on the occasion of the *Aṣṭāhika-mahotsava.*[387] According to Jinaprabha Sūri's *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, goddess Kuberā told the Jainas of Mathurā to worship the *jina* in their homes, and therefore, the practice of placing the image of the *jina* over the door-way was instituted in this city.[388] Hariṣena's *Bṛhat-kathā-kośa* tells that Mathurā was full of lofty Jaina temples.[389] He also mentions the Jaina *rathayātrā* festival of Mathurā, and tells that five Jaina *stūpa*s were built in this city after the defeat of the Buddhists in the controversy with the Jainas.[390]

Another Jaina text tells that Mathurā was a great centre of Jainism, and that ninety-six villages were attached to this city.[391] It also tells that people installed the images of the *arhats* in their homes and court-yards in this city and the villages attached to it.[392] We learn from the Jaina texts that there were many gardens in Mathurā, one of which was called *bhaṁḍīra.*[393] It contained the shrine of *yakṣa* Sudarśana.[394] We are told that Mathurā was renowned for pilgrimage to the temple of *yakṣa bhaṁḍīra.*[395] Pārśvanātha is said to have

386. *MCH,* p. 210.
387. *Yaśastilaka*, pp. 416-17; *MCH,* p. 210.
388. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, pp. 17ff; *Ibid.*
389. *MCH,* p. 211.
390. *Ibid.*
391. *LDJC*, pp. 255, 309.
392. *Ibid.*
393. *Vividha-Tīrtha Kalpa*, pp. 17ff; *LDJC,* p. 255 fn 6; *MCH,* p. 211.
394. *MCH,* p. 211.
395. *Ibid.*; *LDJC*, p. 255.

visited the garden called *bhaṁḍīra*.[396] Probably, Mahāvīra also stayed in this garden[397] in the course of his visit to Mathurā.[398] This garden was, undoubtedly, held in great esteem by the Jainas. A Jaina inscription excavated at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā is a record of the installation of an *āyāga-paṭṭa* at *bhaṁdīra* by a goldsmith.[399] *Yakṣa*-worship was a feature of Jaina religious life,[400] and Pārśvanātha's visit to the *bhaṁḍīra* garden,[401] which contained the shrine of *yakṣa* Sudarśana,[402] is probably an indication of a thriving *yakṣa* cult at Mathurā.[403]

Some terracotta seals bearing *tri-ratna* symbol, which form part of the collection of Government Museum, Mathurā,[404] have come to light in this city. Such seals were probably built to serve as mementoes for the Jaina pilgrims to this city. In the Jaina texts we also find mention of the didactic tale of *śrāvaka* Jiṇadāsa of Mathurā whose two bulls named Kaṁbala and Saṁbala also performed *vṛta*s with him.[405] The Jaina literature also makes mention of a Yavana king of Mathurā who murdered a Jaina monk named Daṁḍa.[406] We are also told that this king, subsequently, became a Jaina monk to make amends for this crime.[407] Two famous Jaina monks — *ācārya* Maṁgū and *ācārya* Rakkhiya — also visited Mathurā.[408] Jambūsvāmī, the last *kevalin*, is said to have performed penance in this city.

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396. *MCH*, p. 211.
397. *JAA*, I, pp. 63-4.
398. *Vivāgasuya*, p. 45, cited in *JAA*, I, p. 50.
399. *EI*, X, Appendix no. 95.
400. V.S. Agrawala, *Ancient Indian . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
401. *MCH*, p. 211.
402. *Ibid.*; *LDJC*, p. 255.
403. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
404. MM no. 2462.
405. *MCH*, p. 211.
406. *Ibid.*
407. *Ibid.*
408. *JDJC*, p. 255.

Jainism in Mathurā — Post-Kuṣāṇa period

The Kuṣāṇa period was an age of great economic prosperity for Mathurā. Many important trade routes passed through this city.[409] In the Jaina literature Mathurā is mentioned as a *thalpaṭṭan* where goods were carried by land route.[410] This city was a great emporium, and its people lived by trade and not agriculture.[411] The majority of the Jainas in Mathurā belonged to the trading classes. It was the flourishing trade at Mathurā which accounted for the affluence of the Jaina community in this city. Economic prosperity enabled the Jainas to build and maintain magnificent religious edifices in Mathurā.

The disintegration of the Kuṣāṇa empire disrupted the political and economic patterns which had handsomely contributed to Mathurā's economic prosperity, and this city gradually sank to the level of a regional town.[412] The decline in the fortunes of Mathurā must have affected the Jaina trading classes also. Therefore, there was a sharp decline in the building activities of the Jainas at Mathurā. After the downfall of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty no new Jaina religious building appears to have been constructed at Mathurā up to the eleventh century AD. Excavations at Mathurā have unearthed 84 Jaina inscriptions assignable to the Kuṣāṇa period.[413] These inscriptions are a record of the Jaina donations in Mathurā made in the form of images, temples, *āyāga-paṭṭas*, etc.

The post-Kuṣāṇa period was characterised by a revolutionary decline in the number of Jaina donations in Mathurā. It is evident from the fact that only 6 Jaina inscriptions of the post-Kuṣāṇa period have come to light at Mathurā.[414] These facts are indicative of decline in the popularity of Jainism in the post-Kuṣāṇa period at Mathurā. But it would be wrong to presume that Jainism lost

409. *MCH,* pp. 46-54; Moti Chandra, *Sārthavāha*, 1953, pp. 4ff
410. *LDJC,* p. 309.
411. *Ibid.*
412. *MCH*, p. 54.
413. *EI*, X, pp. 2 ff; *JPV*, p. 18; *Scythian Period*, *op. cit.*, p. 149 fn 16.
414. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 1 ff; *EI*, II, nos. XXXVIII-XL, XLI.

appeal in Mathurā after the second century AD. Subsequent history is illustrative of the fact that unlike Buddhism, which was almost completely wiped out of existence in this city after the seventh century AD, Jainism remained a living religion in Mathurā up to the eleventh century AD.

Mathurā fell under the rule of the Nāga dynasty after the extinction of the Kuṣāṇa empire. There is no evidence that the Nāga rulers extended patronage to Jainism.[415] Mathurā became a part of the Gupta empire after the downfall of the Nāgas of Mathurā.[416] The majority of the Gupta rulers were devout Hindus. But they were tolerant of other religions. Neither Jainism nor Buddhism suffered at their hands. Literary and archaeological sources reveal that Hinduism was in a flourishing state in Mathurā during the Gupta period. These sources reveal that Buddhism, which had become a popular religion at Mathurā within a decade or two after the conclusion of the second Buddhist Council at Vaiśālī,[417] was a fairly popular religion in Mathurā in the Gupta period also. The Chinese traveller Fahien, who saw twenty Buddhist monasteries housing about three thousand monks,[418] and six Buddhist *stūpa*s at Mathurā,[419] made no mention of Jainism in this city.[420]

But Fahien's silence should not lead us to the conclusion that Jainism did not exist in Mathurā during the Gupta period. Only three Jaina inscriptions of the Gupta period have come to light at Mathurā.[421] But the discovery of 59 Jaina sculptures of the Gupta period at Mathurā[422] is evidence that Jainism had not lost its appeal in this city. A council was held at Mathurā under the presidentship of Ārya Skandil for the fixation of the Jaina canon in the fourth

415. *JPV*, p. 19.
416. *CII*, III, nos. 1, 4, 63.
417. *CMHI*, II, pp. 82-3.
418. *The Travels of Fa-Hsien*, tr. H.A. Giles, 1956, p. 20.
419. Samuel Beal, *op. cit.*, Introduction, xxxvii-xxxviii.
420. *JPV*, p. 19.
421. *EI*, II, no. XXXVIII-XL.
422. *JAA*, I, p. 107.

century AD.[423] This is another evidence of the fact that in spite of decline in popularity Jainism continued to survive at Mathurā during the Gupta period.

The Huna invasions of the sixth century AD destroyed many art treasures of Mathurā, and also initiated the process of Buddhism's decline in this city.[424] Buddhism was in existence at Mathurā when the Chinese traveller Huein Tsang visited it in the seventh century AD.[425] But by the end of the tenth century AD the vigorous cults of Hinduism, which included worship of Śiva, Śakti and Viṣṇu, absorbed Buddhism.[426] It is clear from the accounts of the Muslim historians of the eleventh century AD that Mathurā was a Hindu city devoted to Vaiṣṇavism, particularly to the Kṛṣṇa cult.[427] Contemporary Muslim historians make no mention of Jainism and Buddhism in Mathurā in the eleventh century AD. In fact, Buddhism had become non-existent in this city by this time.

But archaeological material unearthed from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā bears testimony to the fact that Jainism existed in Mathurā even in the eleventh century AD. The Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was in existence when Somadeva composed his *Yaśastilakacampū* in AD 959. It was still called *devanirmita*. An antiquity in the collection of State Museum, Lucknow furnishes evidence that this *stūpa* was in existence at least up to AD 979.[428] A great misfortune enveloped Mathurā in the first quarter of the eleventh century AD. Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Mathurā in AD 1018 and wrought havoc in this city, which was plundered, burnt and destroyed.[429] But somehow the two Jaina temples at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā

423. *HJM*, p. 20; *LDJC*, p. 33; *JPV*, p. 19.
424. R.C. Sharma, *The Buddhist Art of Mathurā*, 1984, p. 35; N. Dutt and K.D. Bajpai, *Development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh*, 1956, p. 391.
425. Watters, *On Yuwan Chaung's Travels in India*, vol. I, 1904, pp. 301-13.
426. *SFE*, Foreword, xxi.
427. *Alberuni's India*, ed. Sachau, vol. I, 1914, pp. 199, 401; Elliot and Dowson, II, pp. 44-5; John Briggs, tr. Ferishta's work, vol. I, 1908, p. 58.
428. SML no. J. 236; *MCH*, p. 332.
429. Elliot and Dowson, II, pp. 44-5; John Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-9.

escaped destruction. The Jaina donative inscription dated VS 1080, i.e., AD 1023, and the colossal image of *tīrthaṁkara* Padmaprabhanātha dated VS 1134, i.e., AD 1077, prove that the two Jaina temples at Kaṅkālā Ṭīlā, Mathurā — one built in the second century BC and the other about the beginning of the Christian era — escaped destruction at the time of Mahmud of Ghazni's invasion of this city in AD 1018, and were centres of Jaina worship during the greater part of the eleventh century AD.[430]

Neither literature nor archaeology holds the clue to the subsequent fate of these Jaina temples. Either time took toll of them or 'they suffered destruction at some later date'.[431] These temples stood in the vicinity of the Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā. The Jaina *stūpa*, if it stood intact at the time of Mahmud of Ghazni's invasion of Mathurā in AD 1018, too, would have escaped destruction. The expression *mathurāstūpastutaya* used in Jinaprabha Sūri's *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, composed between AD 1307 and AD 1340, seems to convey the impression that the *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was in existence as late as the first half of the fourteenth century AD.[432] Mathurā was in a state of ruin for many centuries after Mahmud of Ghazni's invasion. It appears doubtful that this *stūpa* managed to exist as late as the fourteenth century AD. We shall turn to this in the last chapter of the book.

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430. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 3-4; *Yaśastilaka*, p. 433; *EI*, II, p. 211 fn 35.
431. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4; *Ibid.*, p. 433.
432. *MCH*, pp. 210-11.

6

Jaina Art and Architecture at Mathurā

Second Century BC to Eleventh Century AD

THERE is no room for the worship of a Creator God in the philosophy of Jainism. Yet, during the course of about 2500 years the Jainas have produced innumerable images and numerous shrines in honour of the *tīrthaṁkaras* in various parts of India. Mathurā — the principal seat of Jainism in north India in the early centuries of the Christian era[1] and the oldest and most renowned centre of Jaina art[2] — developed as the leading centre of Jaina art and architecture even before the beginning of the Christian era. This city played a significant role in the development of Jaina iconography.[3] In fact, the history of Jaina iconography is intimately connected with the history of Jaina iconography of Mathurā.

Character of the Jaina art of Mathurā

Archaeological excavations have brought to light a large number of Jaina antiquities, sculptural as well as architectural. The study of this immense archaeological material has highlighted the fact that the Jaina art of Mathurā was not sectarian in character.[4] As elsewhere in India, the Jaina art of Mathurā bore a striking resemblance with the Hindu and Buddhist art.[5]

1. *CMHI*, II, p. 355.
2. *ISP*, p. 1.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *IGI*, II, p. 110; *SIJA*, p. 3; *JS*, Introduction, pp. 1-6.
5. *JAA*, I, Editorial, pp. 3ff.

In ancient India all religions — Brāhmaṇism, Jainism and Buddhism — used the art of the age and drew from the common store-house of symbolic and conventional devices.[6] Therefore, no Jaina artistic or architectonic creation can be studied and described in isolation from the mainstream of Indian art and architecture.[7]

Jainism has its distinct religious and mythological concepts. Therefore, the Jainas produced sculptural forms which are not found in the creations of Hinduism and Buddhism.[8] But even in the production of such sculptures the Jainas adopted the style of the region and the period.[9] Therefore, by Jaina art is meant specimens of art which were created under the patronage of the Jainas.[10]

Background of the Jaina art of Mathurā

A large number of *tīrthaṁkara* images were carved at Mathurā during the period under review. But it would be wrong to assume that this city took the lead in the carving of *jina* images. It has been held by some scholars that the figures of the *tīrthaṁkara*s were chiselled as early as the period of Harappan civilisation. This view has been held on the basis of the discovery of a nude torso from Harappa and some seals at Mohen-jo-daro which contain depiction of human figures standing in a posture, which is closely analogous to the standing meditative posture called the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* in Jainism.[11] But there is no indisputable evidence that the figures depicted are *tīrthaṁkara* figures.[12]

According to Jinaprabha Sūri, a stone sculpture of Pārśvanātha was installed in front of the Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā at the behest of goddess

6. *IGI*, II, p. 110; *SIJA*, p. 3; JS, Introduction, p. 6.
7. *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 3.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *SIJA*, p. 3.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 3 fn 1.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 3; *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 3.

Kuberā after that *tīrthaṁkara*'s departure from this city.[13] This story suggests that a stone image of Pārśvanātha was carved as early as the ninth-eighth century BC. But no image of Pārśvanātha assignable to this period has come to light at Mathurā. U.P. Shah holds that a sandalwood portrait sculpture of Mahāvīra was carved in that *tīrthaṁkara*'s lifetime.[14] Many scholars do not agree with this view. A. Ghosh writes,

> That the practice was prevalent at the time of Mahāvīra himself is not established: the legend of the queen of Uddāyana of Vītabhayapattana (unknown from any other source), a contemporary of Mahāvīra himself, having worshipped a sandalwood statue of the *tīrthaṁkara*, has its counterpart in the legend of Buddha's contemporary Udayana of Kauśāmbī having installed an image of Buddha prepared out of the same material.[15]

But there is unmistakable evidence that the image of the *jina* was chiselled in the third century BC if not in the fourth century BC. There is a reference in the Hāthīgumphā inscription to the removal of a *jina* image from Kaliṅga to Pāṭaliputra by the Magadhan king Nanda at the time of his invasion of Kaliṅga.[16] The Nanda kings ruled in the fourth century BC.[17] It is, thus, evident from the Hāthīgumphā inscription that the practice of chiselling *tīrthaṁkara* images was in vogue in the fourth century BC. A highly polished torso of a *jina* image has been discovered from Lohanipur near Patna.[18] The Lohanipur *jina* image is a contemporary or near-contemporary of the *yakṣa* statues.[19] It was carved on the stylistic pattern of the *yakṣa* statues.[20] The

13. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, pp. 17ff; *SIJA*, pp. 62-3.
14. *SIJA*, p. 4.
15. *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 4 fn 1; also see *JPV*, p. 16.
16. *EI*, XX, pp. 71-89.
17. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, ed., *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, 1952, p. 12.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 425; *SIJA*, p. 5; *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 3.
19. *JAA*, I, pp. 3-4.
20. *Ibid.*

yakṣa figures were chiselled in the third century BC.[21] It is, thus, certain that the Lohanipur *jina* image, too, was carved in the third century BC. No image of the Buddha or of a Brāhmaṇical deity has been discovered so far which may be called as ancient as the Lohanipur *jina* image.[22] In the light of these facts it appears almost certain that it was Jainism which took the lead in carving images for veneration.[23]

A study of Jaina antiquites discovered at Mathurā reveals that the interest of the artists of this city and of their Jaina clientele revolved mainly round the production of the images of the *tīrthaṁkaras*, and that they took negligible interest in sculptures which depicted incidents from their life. Therefore, we find an extremely limited depiction of incidents from the life of the *jinas* in the plastic art of Mathurā.[24]

Predecessors of tīrthaṁkara images of Mathurā

The Jaina devotees needed the images of the *jinas* for worship, and the artists of Mathurā produced them in large numbers. But these images did not spring to life at once. Like Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism, image-worship in Jainism was preceded by worship of symbols.[25] The *tīrthaṁkara* figures of Mathurā had their predecessors in sacred symbols like the *stūpa*, the pillar and the *āyāga-paṭṭa* or the *śilā-paṭṭa*.[26]

THE STŪPA

The *stūpa* was an object of Jaina worship. The depiction of *stūpa*-worship was one of the favourite themes of the sculptors of Mathurā. Excavations at

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21. V.S. Agrawala, *Pre-Kuṣāṇa Art of Mathurā*, 1984, p. 17; R.C. Sharma, *The Splendour ..., op. cit.*, p. 36.
22. *JAA*, I, Editorial, p. 3.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
25. *MCH*, p. 333.
26. *Ibid.*

Mathurā have brought to light a number of Jaina sculptures which contain depiction of *stūpa*-worship, realistically as well as artistically.[27]

THE PILLAR

The pillar known as *cetiya-stambha* was also an object of Jaina worship at Mathurā.[28] Therefore, construction of pillars at Mathurā was a logical outcome of the Jaina urge for pillar-worship. One of the corner uprights assignable to the second century BC discovered at Mathurā, depicts a lion pillar within a railing being worshipped by a male and a female devotee.[29] There is nothing specifically Jaina in this depiction. But depiction of lion pillars of this type on Jaina art objects called *āyāga-paṭṭa*s or *śilā-paṭṭas*[30] is indicative of the practice of pillar-worship in Jainism in this period. The artists of Mathurā also built elephant pillars for Jaina worship. This is manifest from a Jaina inscription of Mathurā belonging to the time of the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka, which records the setting-up of an elephant named Naṁdiviśāla for the worship of the *arhat*s.[31]

THE ŚILĀ-PAṬṬAS OR ĀYĀGA-PAṬṬAS

The word *āyāga-paṭṭa* frequently occurs in the Jaina dedicatory inscriptions exposed by excavations at Mathurā.[32] The word *śilā-paṭṭa* also finds mention in one of the Jaina inscriptions discovered from this city.[33] *Āyāga-paṭṭa* is a compound word. *Paṭṭa* means a slab or a tablet. The list of names embodied in the Jaina text entitled *Aṅgavijjā*,[34] and a passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of

27. MM no. Q. 2, etc.
28. *MCH*, p. 333.
29. SML no. J.268; *MCH*, p. 333.
30. MM no. Q. 2.
31. *EI, X,* Appendix, no. 41.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 2ff.
33. *Ibid.,* Appendix, no. 102; MM no. Q. 2.
34. *MCH*, p. 333.

Vālmīki, make it clear that *āyāga* was a sacred place.[35] The meaning of the word *āyāga-paṭṭa* is, thus, a slab or tablet installed in a sacred place. *Āyāga-paṭṭa*s were stone slabs, square or rectangular in shape. Archaeological excavations conducted at Mathurā have brought to light twenty-seven stone tablets, mostly square and sometimes rectangular in shape.[36] In the Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā, these stone tablets have been named *āyāga-paṭṭa*s[37] and *śilā-paṭṭa*s[38] installed for the worship of the *arhat*s.[39]

These *āyāga-paṭṭa*s form a class of their own.[40] Most of them have been assigned to pre-Kuṣāṇa period on stylistic and paleographic grounds.[41] But some of them, probably, belong to the Kuṣāṇa period.[42] The *āyāga-paṭṭa*s were handmaids of religion and their religious character is proved by the inscriptions incised on them. They clearly state that these stone slabs were installed for worship of the *arhat*s.[43] Their religious character is also evident from the depiction of the *stūpa*,[44] figures of the *tīrthaṁkara*s,[45] *caitya-vṛkṣa*,[46] *dharma-cakra*[47] and auspicious symbols[48] on some of them.

The *āyāga-paṭṭa*s were installed at sacred places or spots. According to

35. *MCH*, p. 333; *EI*, I, p. 396 fn 28.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
37. *EI, X,* Appendix, nos. 94, 103, etc.
38. *Ibid.*, no. 102.
39. *Ibid.*, nos. 102, 100, 105, etc.
40. *JAA*, I, p. 64.
41. *JS*, pp. 14-21; *JAA*, I, p. 64; *MCH*, p. 333.
42. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
43. *EI*, II, p. 314; *EI*, X, Appendix nos. 102, 100, 105; MM no. Q. 2.
44. MM no. Q. 2; SML no. J.250.
45. SML no. J.253.
46. *JS*, Plate IX, p. 16.
47. SML no. J. 248; *SIJA*, p. 77.
48. SML nos. J.248, J.250, J.252; *MCH*, p. 333.

V.S. Agrawala[49] and Debala Mitra,[50] a tympanum in the collection of National Museum,[51] indicates that the *āyāga-paṭṭas* were installed on high and solid platforms in slanting position in the premises of the *stūpa*. The *āyāga-paṭṭas* were not mere ornamental slabs;[52] they were objects of worship in themselves.[53] According to Debala Mitra, the manner in which sprinkling of flowers is depicted on two of the four *āyāga-paṭṭas* in the tympanum in collection of National Museum, lends support to the presumption that *āyāga-paṭṭas* were objects of worship in themselves.[54]

V.S. Agrawala holds that the *āyāga-paṭṭas*, perphaps sixteen in number, were originally objects of worship in themselves; but subsequently, they became a medium for worship of the *stūpa*, and flowers and other offerings were directly placed on them.[55] N.P. Joshi offers a slightly different suggestion. He opines that some *āyāga-paṭṭas*, i.e., SML No. J.248,[56] SML No. J.250[57] and NM. No. J.249 discovered at Mathurā are still in mint condition, and do not show any sign that flowers and other offerings were placed on them for centuries.[58] In his opinion the *āyāga-paṭṭas* were probably fixed at same high spot and were meant to be seen and adored from distance.[59]

Inscriptions and literature throw more light on this subject. A Jaina inscription discovered at Mathurā clearly states that a courtesan named Vāsu donated a *śilā-paṭṭa* or stone slab for installation in *arhatāyatana* or the

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49. V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, 1966, pp. 280-1.
50. *JAA*, I, p. 63.
51. NM no. J.555; *JAA*, I, Plates 12, 13.
52. *JAA*, I, p. 64.
53. V.S. Agrawala, *op. cit.,* pp. 280-1.
54. *JAA*, I, p. 64.
55. V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā, op.cit.,* pp. 280-1.
56. *JAA*, I, Plate 16.
57. *Ibid.,* Plate 14.
58. *MCH*, p. 333.
59. *Ibid.*

temple of the *arhats*.[60] It is, therefore, evident that the *āyāga-paṭṭa*s or the *śilā-paṭṭa*s were installed in the temples also. The *āyāga-paṭṭa*s were also installed in the gardens or the spots considered sacred by the Jainas. This is evdent from the Jaina inscription excavated at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā which records the installation of the *āyāga-paṭṭa*s in *bhaṁḍīra* by a goldsmith.[61] We learn from *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri that *bhaṁḍīra* was a garden in Mathurā.[62] This garden contained the shrine of *yakṣa* Sudarśana[63] and was visited by Pārśvanātha.[64] Probably, Mahāvīra also halted in this garden during his visit to Mathurā.[65] It is evident that the *āyāga-paṭṭa*s were installed in the *bhaṁḍīra* garden because the visit of Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra had sanctified it.

The word *āyāga-sabhā* also occurs in one of the Jaina inscriptions that have come to light at Mathurā.[66] It appears certain that the *āyāga-sabhā* was a sacred place or shrine. It is difficult to exactly define the Jaina shrine called the *āyāga-sabhā*. Probably, it was akin to a later Jaina shrine called pauṣadhaśālā where a person kept fast or sat in meditation to practise some *tapa* or propitiate a deity.[67] U.P. Shah is of opinion that probably the *āyāga-paṭṭa*s were installed and worshipped in the *āyāga-sabhā* also.[68] According to him, there was no difference between the *śilā-paṭṭa* and the *āyāga-paṭṭa*; the stone slab called the *śilā-paṭṭa* in the Jaina texts were mentioned as the *āyāga-paṭṭa* in some of the Jaina inscriptions discovered at Mathurā.[69] He

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60. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 102; MM no. Q. 2.
61. *Ibid.*, no. 95.
62. *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa*, pp. 17ff; *LDJC*, p. 255 fn 26.
63. *MCH*, p. 211.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *JAA*, I, pp. 63-4.
66. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 102; MM no. Q. 2.
67. *SIJA*, p. 84.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

opines that the *śilā-paṭṭa*s were placed on a small platform at the foot of the *vṛkṣa*s sacred to the *yakṣa*s and the *nāga*s.[70] Tree-worship was an ancient practice and it took the form of worship of the *śilā-paṭṭa*s in Jainism.[71] U.P. Shah suggests that the stone slabs called the *āyāga-paṭṭa* in the Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā evolved from the stone slabs called the *śilā-paṭṭa* in the Jaina canons.[72]

The foregoing discussion leads us to the conclusion that the stone slabs or tablets called the *śilā-paṭṭa* in the Jaina canons and one of the Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā, and the *āyāga-paṭṭa* in many epigraphs of this city, were objects of worship in themselves. The *āyāga-paṭṭa*s were installed on high solid platforms near the main *stūpa*, probably in front of its four cardinal sides.[73] They were also fixed at some high spot so as to be seen and adored from distance.[74] They were also installed in the temples, *āyāga-sabhā*s, sacred gardens, and under trees considered sacred by the Jainas.

The *āyāga-paṭṭa*s excavated at Mathurā are splendid objects of the Jaina art of this city. These stone slabs depict beautiful carving. Except a few, the *āyāga-paṭṭa*s were carved on one side and not both.[74] The carving on these stone slabs is luxuriant and bears testimony to the skill and zeal of the sculptors who carved them.[75] The artists beautified the *āyāga-paṭṭa*s by compositions of rare excellence.[76] From the point of view of art the *āyāga-paṭṭa*s from Mathurā rank among some of the most beautiful specimens of the celebrated Mathurā school of sculpture; they are exceedingly well-conceived and the composition conveys the meaning of the symbolism they seek to represent.[77]

70. *SIJA*, pp. 69-70.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*
73. *JAA*, I, p. 63.
74. *MCH*, p. 333.
75. *JAA*, I, p. 64.
76. *Ibid.*
77. V.S. Agrawala, *Studies . . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-9.

The artists carved a large number of religious and secular symbols on the *āyāga-paṭṭa*s. Auspicious symbols called the *aṣṭa-maṅgala*s in Jainism were also carved. The *aṣṭa-maṅgala*s — *svastika*, *śrīvatsa*, *nandyāvarta* (cross with circular arms), *varddhamānaka* (powder-flask), *bhadrāsana* (sacred seat), *kalaśa* (full-vase), *darpaṇa* (mirror), and *matsya* or *matsya-yugma* (fish or pair of fish) — are known to Jaina worship from ancient times, and are often referred to in the Jaina canonical and other texts as decorating tops of architraves or ramparts, or placed on *caitya*-trees, platforms, painted on walls, etc.[78] Some of the Mathurā *āyāga-paṭṭa*s contain total or partial depiction of the *aṣṭa-maṅgal*s.[79] The study of the Mathurā *āyāga-paṭṭa*s, however, reveals that the set of eight auspicious symbols called the *aṣṭa-maṅgala*s was not finally settled upto the Kuṣāṇa period.[80] The tradition of eight auspicious symbols as depicted on the Mathurā *āyāga-paṭṭa*s, especially on the *āyāga-paṭṭa* donated by Sīhanādika,[81] is slightly different from the later tradition.[82] It is evident that in the representation of the eight auspicious symbols, the artists of Mathurā followed the older tradition, which is slightly different from the tradition recorded in the Jaina canons available these days.[83]

Some of the symbols carved on these *āyāga-paṭṭa*s are the *kalpavṛkṣa*,[84] the full vase,[85] the *stūpa*,[86] coiled reptiles with human bodies,[87] dragons,[88]

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78. *SIJA*, p. 109.
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10.
80. *SIJA*, p. 110.
81. SML no. J.249.
82. *SIJA*, p. 110.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-11.
84. SML nos. J.250, J.252; *MCH*, p. 333.
85. *Ibid.*, no. J.252; *ibid.*
86. MM no. Q.2.
87. SML no. J.248, no. J.250; *MCH*, p. 333.
88. *Ibid.*, no. J.252; *ibid.*

creepers coming out of the jars,[89] etc. The artists of Mathurā used many Indian and foreign motifs for the beautification of the *āyāga-paṭṭa*s. Motifs like vine creepers, *maṅgala*s, winged animals, dancing figures, etc., can be noticed in the border frame of these stone slabs.[90] Some sacred objects like the wheel and *nandyāvarta* were carved along with decorative motifs in the inner field of the *āyāga-paṭṭa*s.[91] In some slabs miniature figures of seated *jina*s were also depicted.[92] The *āyāga-paṭṭa*s of this variety belong to a class of their own. They illustrate an admixture of symbol-worship and image-worship.

The *āyāga-paṭṭa*s, which are the oldest objects of the Jaina art of Mathurā,[93] rank among the finest creations of the sculptural art of this city. Production of these homage slabs was an innovation of the artists of Mathurā and was confined to this city.[94] Numerous *āyāga-paṭṭa*s were produced at Mathurā during the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa period because these formed part of the religious donations of the Jainas. Excavations have not exposed any *āyāga-paṭṭa* which may be assigned to the post-Kuṣāṇa period. It is clear that the era of the carving of independent stone images of the Jaina deities which commenced in the Kuṣāṇa period announced the closure of the era of the *āyāga-paṭṭa*s.

Tīrthaṁkara images of Mathurā: Pre-Kuṣāṇa period

The earliest representation of the *tīthaṁkara*s at Mathurā occurs on an architectural object which was originally a lintel in the second century BC, but was subsequently transformed into a railing pillar.[95] Available portions of the

89. SML no. J.686a; *MCH*, p. 333.
90. *MCH*, p. 333.
91. *Ibid.*, pp. 333-4.
92. MM no. 47. 49; *JAA*, I, Plate 15.
93. *ISP*, p. 1.
94. *Ibid.*
95. SML no. J.354 and J.609; *MCH*, p. 335.

lintel seem to have been divided into two parts; the first one shows *apsarā* Nīlāñjanā dancing in the royal court, and the second depicts two *jina*s seated in meditation.[96] Subsequently, the figures of the *tīrthaṁkara*s were carved on the *āyāga-paṭṭa*s. One of these *āyāga-paṭṭa*s can be assigned to 50 BC.[97] This *āyāga-paṭṭa* depicts the nude figure of a *jina* who is seated cross-legged with his hands on the lap.[98] This figure depicts plain hair and loose cross-legging.[99] The *śrīvatsa* mark on the chest of the *jina*s was an innovation introduced by the artists of Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa period.[100] This mark as well as the nimbus, charcteristics of the later *jina* figures of Mathurā, are conspicuous by their absence in the aforesaid miniature *jina* figure.[101] The *lāñchana*s (congnizances or distinctive marks) of the various *jina*s had not been determined at this stage of Jaina iconography.[102] But, this figure can be identified as the figure of Pārśvanātha because of 'the seven-hooded serpent-canpoy manifest over the head of the *jina*'.[103]

Tīrthaṁkara images of Mathurā: The Kuṣāṇa period

The figures of the *jina*s were the most significant products of the Jaina iconography of Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa period. The Jaina texts of the Kuṣāṇa period do not contain guidelines in respect of the production of the *jina* image.[104] But early Jaina works like *Āvaṣyaka Nirvyūha* (*gāthā* 969) suggest that the *jina*s are represented in the world in the posture in which they left it.[105] We learn from other Jaina texts that twenty-one *tīrthaṁkara*s attained

96. SML no. J.354 and J.609; *MCH*, p. 335.
97. *Ibid.*, no. J.253; *Ibid.*, Plate 34.1 and p. 335.
98. *Ibid.; ibid.; ibid.*
99. *Ibid.; ibid.; ibid.*
100. *ISP*, p. 1.
101. SML no. J.253; *MCH*, p. 335.
102. *JAA*, I, p. 65; *JPV*, p. 250; R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . . op. cit.*, p. 145.
103. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
104. *MCH*, pp. 335-6.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 353.

nirvāṇa in the standing posture, and three, i.e., Ṛṣabha, Nemi and Mahāvīra left this world in the sitting posture.[106] The figures or images of the Buddha were carved in many postures — the earth-touching posture, (the *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*), the protection posture (the *abhaya-mudrā*), the meditative posture (the *dhyāna-mudrā*), the turning of the wheel posture (the *dharma-cakra-pravartana-mudrā*), etc.[107]

But the artists of Mathurā carved the images of the *jina*s in only two postures — the seated meditative posture called the *dhyānastha-mudrā* or the *padmāsana-mudrā*, and the standing meditative posture called the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* in Jainism.[108] It appears that the sculptors of Mathurā followed the guidelines embodied in the early Jaina texts by carving the images of the *jina*s in only two postures. But they did not follow these guidelines in their entirety. It is evident from many *tīrthaṁkara* images of the Kuṣāṇa period carved at Mathurā.

Among the twenty-four *tīrthaṁkara*s, Ṛṣabha, Nemi and Mahāvīra are said to have attained *nirvāṇa* in the sitting posture. Therefore, in view of the guidelines embodied in the early Jaina texts, the images of these three *tīrthaṁkara*s should have been chiselled in the seated meditative posture only. But the sculptors of Mathurā carved the images of Ṛṣabha[109] and Mahāvīra[110] in the *kāyotsarga*-posture also during the Kuṣāṇa period. Sambhavanātha is said to have left this world in the standing posture. But the sculptors of Mathurā carved his image both in the standing[111] and the seated[112] meditative posture during this period. Pārśvanātha had attained

106. *MCH*; p. 353; *OISJ*, p. 66.
107. R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures*... *op. cit.*, p. 145; N. Dutt and K.D. Bajpai, *Development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh*, 1956, pp. 384-5.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 145; *JPV*, p. 48.
109. *MM* no. B. 36; *JUPHS*, III, p. 9.
110. *SML* nos. J.2, J.9; *MCH*, p. 353.
111. *SML* no. J.13; *MCH*, p. 353.
112. *SML* no. J.19; *ibid.*

nirvāṇa in the standing posture. But the sculptors of Mathurā chiselled his image in the seated posture during the Kuṣāṇa period.[113] It is evident that they followed a different tradition in carving the images of the *jina*s.

Most of the *jina* figures in this city were produced in the seated meditative posture. This is evident from the fact that out of 119 *tīrthaṁkara* figures assignable to the Kuṣāṇa period which have come to light at Mathurā, 93 are in the seated meditative posture.[114] A principal characteristic of the *jina* figures of Mathurā of the Kuṣāṇa period is their nudity. Except for a few sculptures belonging to the *Ardhaphālaka* sect of Jainism,[115] all Jaina figures of Mathurā belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period are entirely nude.[116] The depiction of partly clothed Jaina monks in all bas-reliefs of Mathurā except one is indicative of the fact that a large number of Jainas in this city belonged to the *Ardhaphālaka* sect of Jainism in the pre-Christian period and the early centuries of the Christian era.[117] Among the *tīrthaṁkara*s only Ṛṣabha and Mahāvīra are said to have preached complete nudity. Therefore, the existence of the *Ardhaphālaka* sect in Mathurā during the aforesaid period does not cause surprise.

Complete nudity of the *jina* images of Mathurā of the Kuṣāṇa period led A. Cunningham to the conclusion that they belonged to the Digmabara sect.[118] But we agree with the view of B.C. Bhattacharya[119] and U.P. Shah[120]

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113. *SML* no. J.25+113; *ibid.*
114. *MCH*, p. 332.
115. *MS*, p. 24.
116. *Ibid.*; *SIJA*, p. 11; *JPV*, p. 48.
117. *MCH*, p. 347. It may, however, be pointed out that depiction of partly clothed Jaina monks in the bas-reliefs is not a conclusive evidence of a distinct division of the Jainas into the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras at Mathurā in the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa period.
118. *ASIAR*, III, p. 46.
119. *JI*, p. 42.
120. *SIJA*, p. 11.

that the difference between the *jina* images of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras in respect of drapery and nudity did not exist in the Kuṣāṇa period.[121] The *jina* images of Mathurā of the Gupta period, too, are nude. We have already stated that there is no hint of the split in the Jaina Church in the inscriptions discovered at Mathurā. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the points of difference between the images of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras are posterior to even the Gupta period.

The *lāñchanas* of the various *jinas* had not evolved during the Kuṣāṇa period. Therefore, it is very difficult to differentiate one *tīrthaṁkara* from the other in this huge mass of *jina* figures. Two factors have helped in the identification of some *jinas*. Many *tīrthaṁkara* images of this period bear inscriptions. Very often the name of the *tīrthaṁkara* is also mentioned in the inscription incised on the figure.[122] Such inscriptions have helped in the identification of the *jinas* whose images were carved at Mathurā during this period. The characteristics associated with the *jinas* have also helped in the identification of their images. Pārśvanātha has been identified on the basis of the seven-hooded serpent-conopy over his head in the figures.[123] Ṛṣabha has been identified on the basis of locks of hair falling on his shoulders in the figures.[124] Neminātha has been recognised on the basis of his representation in the company of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in the figures.[125]

The inscriptions excavated at Mathurā contain the names of *arhats* Ṛṣbha,[126] Ariṣṭanemi,[127] Śāntinātha,[128] Pārśva,[129] Sambhavanātha,[130]

121. *JI*, p. 42; *SIJA*, p. 11.
122. R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures* . . ., *op. cit.*, p. 145.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 145; *MS*, p. 23; *JAA*, I, p. 65; *JPV*, p. 46.
124. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
125. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
126. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 56.
127. *Ibid.*, no. 26.
128. *Ibid.*, no. 27.
129. *Ibid.*, no. 110.
130. *MCH*, p. 357; *JAA*, I, p. 66 fn. 1.

Vardhamāna Mahāvīra[131] and Nandyāvarta.[132] It is, thus, certain that the images of these seven *jinas* were carved at Mathurā during this period. On the basis of his study of the early Jaina icons of Mathurā, N.P. Joshi has opined that *tīrthaṁkara* Sumatinātha, too, was known to the sculptors of Mathurā during the period under review.[133]

Main characteristics of the tīrthaṁkara images of Mathurā: The Kuṣāṇa period

Available material indicates that the *tīrthaṁkara* images of this period were of medium size. But colossal figures of the *jinas* were also produced.[134] There is very little difference between the seated and standing *jina* figures of Mathurā of the Kuṣāṇa period in respect of arrangement of hair, depiction of auspicious marks on the body, carving of the neck, nimbus, etc.[135] The heads of the *jinas* in these figures are either bald[136] or characterised by small curls.[137] Facial expression is conspicuous by its absence in the *tīrthaṁkara* figures of this period.[138] Smile is the only expression manifest in these figures and, this too, is rare.[139] The earliest depiction of the *śrīvatsa* mark on the chest of the *tīrthaṁkara* figure occurs on Mathurā *āyāga-paṭṭas* of the first century BC.[140] The *śrīvatsa* symbol became an inalienable part of the bulk of *jina* figures at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.[141] The caduceus-like

131. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 18.
132. *Ibid.*, no. 47.
133. *MCH*, p. 357.
134. *Ibid.*, p. 339.
135. *Ibid.*
136. *MS*, p. 23.
137. MM no. 1531; *JUPHS*, III, p. 15.
138. *MS*, p. 23.
139. *Ibid.*; R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . . op. cit.*, p. 144.
140. *JPV*, p. 80 fn 1.
141. *JUPHS*, III, MM nos. B. 71, B. 70, B. 2, B. 3, etc.

symbol (called the *śrīvatsa* mark)[142] on the chest of the *jina* figure was an innovation of the sculptors of Mathurā. This practice became widespread. Mathurā took the lead; the rest of the country followed it.[143] Sometimes the sculptors of Mathurā carved the sacred *śrīvatsa* symbol on the foreparts of the fingers of the *jina* figure also.[144]

The *jina* images of this period have open eyes;[145] the eye-balls, too, can be noticed in some of the images of this period.[146] Another remarkable feature of the seated *jina* figure of Mathurā of this period is depiction of *dharma-cakra* on the palms and both *dharma-cakra* and *tri-ratna* on the soles.[147] In the earliest seated *jina* figures of Mathurā cross-legging is very loose.[148] But the seated *jina* figures of the Kuṣāṇa period display *padmāsana* or tight cross-legging.[149] The seated *jina* figures of this period bear *ūrṇa*, i.e., the round mark between the eye-brows.[150]

Generally speaking, the heads of the seated *jina* figures of this period are either bald or characterised by small curls. But hair arrangements, like notched hair and hair combed back, can also be noticed in some of the *jina* figures of this period.[151] The seated figure of Pārśvanātha depicted on the Mathurā *āyāga-paṭṭa* assigned to the first century BC is characterised by the absence of nimbus.[152] But nimbus became a characteristic feature of some seated *jina* figures of Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.[153] The *jina* figures

142. *MS*, p. 23.
143. *JPV*, p. 80 fn 1.
144. *MS*, p. 23.
145. *MCH*, p. 339.
146. *Ibid.*; *MS*, p. 23.
147. *JUPHS*, III, MM nos. B. 3, B. 4, B. 5, B. 27, etc.
148. SML no. J.354, J.609; *MCH*, p. 335.
149. *JUPHS*, III, MM nos. 490, etc.
150. *Ibid.*; MM nos. 1940, etc.
151. *MCH*, p. 339.
152. SML no. J.253.
153. *JUPHS*, III, MM nos. B. 71, B. 70, B. 16, etc.

of this period are often displayed seated on the lion throne.[154] This depiction is indicative of their *cakravartin* status.[155] Generally speaking, *uṣṇīṣa* is conspicuous by its absence in the *jina* figures of this period.[156]

The Jaina iconography of Mathurā of this period throws a hint that among the twenty-four *jina*s, four were held specially sacred by the Jaina community of this city.[157] This is evident from the discovery of quadruple images,[158] called *pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā* in the Jaina inscriptions,[159] and *caumukha-pratimā* in later periods.[160] Twenty-eight figures of this type ranging in date from Śaka year 5[161], probably of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka,[162] to the year 74, have come to light at Mathurā.[163] These images present the figure of a *tīrthaṁkara* on each of the four sides of a stone block.[164] Two of the four images in many *sarvatobhadrikā-pratimā*s of Mathurā of this period can be easily identified as figures of R̥ṣabha and Pārśva on the basis of locks of hair and serpent-hoods respectively.[165] Of the remaining two *jina*s, one has been recognised as Mahāvīra.[166] The other may be Neminātha, who being the cousin of Kr̥ṣṇa and Balarāma was greatly esteemed at Mathurā.[167]

U.P. Shah opines that *sarvatobhadrikā-pratimā*s of Mathurā were based

154. *Ibid.*, MM nos. B. 17, B. 18, etc.
155. *MS*, p. 24.
156. *JUPHS*, III, MM no. B. 57, etc.
157. *JAA*, I, p. 66.
158. *Ibid.*
159. *EI*, X, Appendix no. 24; *JAA*, I, p. 66; *SIJA*, p. 11.
160. *JAA*, I, p. 66; *SIJA*, p. 12.
161. *MCH*, p. 353.
162. *JAA*, I, p. 66.
163. *MCH*, p. 353.
164. *JAA*, I, p. 66.
165. *Ibid.*; *SIJA*, p. 11; *MCH*, p. 354.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
167. *Ibid.*

on the ancient Jaina tradition called *samavasaraṇa*.[168] In accordance with this tradition, high platforms were erected for the sermons of the *jina*s; the image of one of the *jina*s was installed in the centre of the platform, and the images of the same *jina* were installed on its remaining three sides in order to make him visible to the entire audience.[169] He also opines that representation of four different *jina*s on four sides of the *sarvatobhadrikā-pratimā*s of Mathurā was an advancement on the original conception of a *samavasaraṇa* or *caumukha* sculpture.[170]

The facts highlighted by N.P. Joshi's study of these quadruple images deserve notice in this connection. In three of these quadruple images,[171] the image of Ṛṣabha, and in three of them,[172] the image of both Ṛṣabha and Pārśva, are conspicuous by their absence.[173] According to Joshi, these six images indicate that the sculptor intended to display either the same *jina* on four sides, or depict four different *jina*s other than Ṛṣabha and Pārśva on four sides of these *caumukha* images.[174]

These quadruple images were probably installed in open space within the sacred precincts of the main *stūpa*. In a summary representation which occurs on a slab, possibly an *āyāga-paṭṭa*,[175] four seated *tīrthaṁkiaras* — two each on either side of a *stūpa* — one of whom is Pārśvanātha — are represented in the upper register. This representation conveys the impression of four images which were either installed in front of the four cardinal directions of a *stūpa* or were set up within the *stūpa*-niches facing the cardinal directions.[176] We learn from one of the inscriptions that these

168. *SIJA*, p. 11; *MCH*, p. 353.
169. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
170. *Ibid.*
171. *JUPHS*, III, MM nos. B. 70, B. 71; SML no. J.235; *MCH*, p. 354.
172. SML nos. J.241, J.242; MM no. 45.3214; *MCH*, p. 354.
173. *MCH*, p. 354.
174. *Ibid.*
175. SML no. J.623; *JAA*, I, pp. 57, 66.
176. *JAA*, I, p. 66.

quadruple images were installed on a *śilā-stambbha*, i.e., a pillar.[177]

Many images of the Kuṣāṇa and post-Kuṣāṇa period represent Nemināthа in the company of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. One such image of the late Kuṣāṇa period shows Balarāma with seven hoods and four hands; the upper right hand holds a *hala* (plough), the lower left hand being akimbo.[178] Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa carries in the upper left hand a *gadā* (mace) and a *cakra* (wheel) in the upper right hand.[179] This image also contains representation of the leaves of *vetasa* tree, the *kevala*-tree of Neminātha.[180]

Evaluation of the tīrthaṁkara images of Mathurā: The Kuṣāṇa period

The *tīrthaṁkara* images of Mathurā belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period look cold and frozen.[181] They are devoid of expression and grace.[182] These images present a stark contrast to the sublime gentleness and serene grace of the figure of the Buddha, and to the divine grace and lavish charm of the images of the Hindu gods.[183] They are characterised by puppet-like rigidity, primitive nakedness[184] and uniformity of pattern.[185] These images are generally stiff in pose.[186] They have open eyes,[187] and sometimes even the eye-balls can be seen in these figures.[188] These *tīrthaṁkara* images have heavy shoulders and

177. SML no., J.234; *MCH*, p. 353.
178. *JUPHS*, III, MM no. 2502.
179. *Ibid.*
180. *Ibid.*
181. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
182. *JAA*, I, p. 67.
183. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
184. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
185. *JAA*, I, p. 37; *HOFA*, Introduction, p. 11.
186. *Ibid.*, p. 67; *SIJA*, p. 12; *MCH*, p. 339.
187. *MS*, p. 23; *MCH*, p. 339.
188. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

broad chest, and are characterised by archaic stolidity.[189] In short, the *jina* images of Mathurā of the first and second century AD possess little artistic merit.

But the *jina* iconography of this period should be judged in the light of the doctrines of Jainism. These images are vehicles of the traditions of Jainism,[190] which prescribed their depiction as ascetics.[191] Jainism is a votary of asceticism, and these figures look like figures of ascetics. It is because of the restraint embodied in the Jaina religious tradition that 'a cold and frozen atmosphere hovers around the *jina* images'[192] of Mathurā of this period. The nudity of these figures represents the condition of absolute detachment from the world.[193]

The sculptor of the Kuṣāṇa period was fairly adept in carving human figure. But he failed to express the true character of the *jina*s, who were renowned for their serenity, spiritual strength, firmness of will and disciplined life.[194] Facial expressions in these creations are almost non-existent,[195] the only exception being smile which, too, is rare.[196] The limbs of these figures, too, are mostly flat and disproportionate.[197] But considerable progress was made in the carving of the *jina* image by the end of the Kuṣāṇa period, and the sculptors of Mathurā did full justice to this figure in the Gupta period.

Other Jaina sculptures of Mathurā: The Kuṣāṇa period

There is an extremely limited depiction of incidents from the life of the *jina*s

189. *JAA*, I, p. 67.
190. *JSAI*, p. 231; *EWA*, VIII, p. 786; *JAA*, I, pp. 67-8.
191. *JAA*, I, pp. 67-8.
192. H. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
193. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
194. *JAA*, I, p. 68.
195. *MS*, p. 23.
196. *Ibid.*
197. *JAA*, I, p. 68.

in the Jaina art of Mathurā during the period under review. One such depiction occurs on a lintel of the Śuṅga period; it has been interpreted as Mahāvīra's birth-celebration by V.S. Agrawala,[198] and as the dance of *apsarā* Nilāñjanā before king Ṛṣabha by U.P. Shah[199] and N.P. Joshi.[200] A depiction on a plaque discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā[201] shows the goat-headed male deity Naigmeṣa seated on a high seat and being adored by a *caurī* bearer and a lady with wings; in the corner is a woman who carries a child in one hand.[202] Naigameṣa is said to have played an important role in the transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo from the womb of Devānandā to that of Triśalā. According to Jyoti Prasad Jain, this representation is a reference to the transfer of the newly-born babes of Devakī in Kaṁsa's prison to the bosom of Alakā, wife of Sudraṣṭa, a merchant of Bhadrilapura.[203] But according to N.P. Joshi, this depiction is either a reference to the transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo, or to Satyabhāmā's (wife of Kṛṣṇa) worship of Naigmeṣa[204] for the birth of a son.[205] Production of the images of Naigmeṣa was quite popular in this period. Ten images of this Jaina male deity have come to light at Mathurā; but we find no representation of Naigmeṣa in the post-Kuṣāṇa Jaina sculptural art of this city.[206]

Two female figures of this period deserve special attention. One of the Jaina dedicatory inscriptions of Mathurā of the period of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa mentions the installation of an image of Āryavatī by a lady named

198. *SIJA*, p. 11 fn 4.
199. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
200. *MCH*, p. 335.
201. SML no. J.626; *MCH*, p. 354.
202. *Ibid.; ibid.*
203. *JAA*, I, p. 65 fn 2.
204. Naigameṣa is closely associated with children. See *MCH*, p. 354; *EI*, II, p. 315.
205. *MCH*, p. 354.
206. *Ibid.*

Āmohinī.[207] Āryavatī has been described as the mother of a *jina*,[208] probably of Mahāvīra.[209] She enjoyed divine status,[210] because her right hand is raised in *abhaya-mudrā*.[211] Attendants carrying flywhisks and an umbrella are also manifest in the image of Āryavatī.[212]

One of the donative gifts of a Jaina devotee of the Kuṣāṇa period was an image of Sarasvatī,[213] the goddess of learning in Hinduism and Jainism. Seated squat with knees drawn up above an oblong pedestal, this goddess, specifically named Sarasvatī, holds a book in her left hand which rests on the waist.[214] The broken palm of the right hand, which was raised to the shoulder, most probably held a rosary.[215]

Depiction of the monks, the nuns, etc.: The Kuṣāṇa period

The pedestals of numerous seated and standing *jina* figures of Mathurā belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period have a bas-relief in front in between two lions at either end of the pedestal.[216] The bas-relief depicts the *dharma-cakra*,[217] devotees[218] or worshippers,[219] male and female,[220] children,[221] male devotees

207. *EI*, X, Approndix, no. 59.
208. *MCH*, p. 356; *SIJA*, p. 11.
209. *SIJA*, p. 11; *JAA*, I, p. 67.
210. *MCH*, p. 356.
211. SML no. J.1; *MCH*, p. 356; *JAA*, I, p. 67.
212. *Ibid.*; *MCH*, p. 356.
213. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 54.; SML no. J.24.
214. SML no. J.24; *JAA*, I, p. 67; *MCH*, p. 356.
215. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
216. *JUPHS*, III, MM nos. B. 75, 1388, etc.
217. *Ibid.*, MM nos. 490, B. 4, etc.
218. *Ibid.*, MM nos. B. 71, etc.
219. *Ibid.*, MM nos. B. 29, etc.
220. *JUPHS*, III, MM nos. B. 4, etc.
221. *MCH*, p. 347.

with their retinue and attendants,[222] female donor or donors with their retinue,[223] monks and nuns.[224] Most of the monks depicted in the bas-reliefs are partially clad and appear to belong to the *Ardhaphālaka* sect.[225] We find mention of numerous male and female donors in the Jaina dedicatory inscriptions discovered at Mathurā.[226] Many of them contain the names of Jaina ladies, along with the names of their family members, and of the monks and the nuns at whose request or behest these female lay devotees had made donations in the form of images, *āyāga-paṭṭa*s, etc.[227] It is highly probable that the aforesaid bas-relief on the pedestal of the seated *jina* figure depicts male and female donors, their family members, attendants or servants, monks, nuns, etc.

Female figures in the Jaina art of Mathurā: Pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa period

The Mathurā school of sculptural art, which mainly followed the art traditions of Sanchi and Bharhut,[228] more nearly those of the latter,[229] came into existence in the first century AD.[230] It had its predecessor in the pre-Kuṣāṇa art of this city. Female figures carved on the railing pillars, which formed part of the Jaina *stūpa* or *stūpa*s of Mathurā,[231] rank among the finest creations of the celebrated Mathurā school of sclupture.[232] In fact, they rank among the

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222. *MCH,* p. 347.
223. *Ibid.*
224. *Ibid.*
225. *Ibid.*
226. *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2ff.
227. *Ibid.*, pp. 2ff.
228. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History . . ., op. cit.*, p. 37; S.K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, 1957, p. 62; V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā, op. cit.,* p. 261.
229. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.,* p. 37.
230. R.C. Sharma, *The Splendour . . ., op. cit.,* pp. 36-7.
231. P.K. Agrawala, *Mathurā Railing Pillars*, 1966, pp. 3ff.
232. V.S. Agarwala, *Mathurā Kalā*, *op. cit.,* p. 41.

most enchanting creations of the Indian art as a whole.[233] Some of these rail posts belong to the third century BC[234] or to the period a little later than that,[235] and the others to the Kuṣāṇa period.[236] The female figures on the rails, anterior to the commencement of the Christian era, are representatives of the pre-Kuṣāṇa art of Mathurā, and those carved in the first and the second century AD are products of the Kuṣāṇa art of this city.

In ancient India art was the handmaid of religion. But it was also art for the sake of art. The female figures carved on the railing pillars of the Jaina *stūpa* or *stūpa*s of Mathurā furnish unmistakable evidence of the truth embodied in the latter statement. The sculptors of Mathurā loved to carve female figures, and they tried to make them as attractive, beautiful and feminine as was possible for them. These female figures carved in numerous bewitching postures and engaged in their favourite pastimes are pointers of the fact that in spite of its code of rigid discipline, which is manifest in the *tīrthaṁkara* figures, the Jaina community of Mathurā gave a free hand to the sculptors of this city as far as chiselling of female figures was concerned.[237] These figures possess great artistic merit. They represent the sculptor's conception of female beauty. These well-proportioned figures also bear testimony to his professional skill.

The real charm of the Mathurā rail posts lies in the female figures carved on them. These figures have been conceived and executed in numerous poses and forms. The sculptors of Mathurā chose free vertical spaces on the face of the railing pillar for the display of their majestic art. These uprights depict women in numerous attractive and bewitching poses; but there is no hint of sensuous narration in these figures.[238] It is a representation of joyous females

233. P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.,* p. 2.
234. *Ibid.,* p. 5.
235. *Ibid.,* p. 3.
236. *JAA*, I, p. 59.
237. *Ibid.*
238. P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.,* pp. 5-6; V.S. Agrawala, *Studies . . . op. cit.,* p. 155.

— full of zest for life — who are busy in their favourite sports and pastimes. In fact, the female figures carved on these railing pillars should not be viewed only as documents of the plastic art of Mathurā; they are splendid specimens of plastic art, but they are also a mirror of the outlook, amusements, sports and pastimes of the women of that age.

In the terminology of art some of the women portrayed on these rails have been designated as *śālabhañjikās*,[239] a term which originally denoted the motif — the woman plucking (and gathering) *śāla* flowers by standing under a blossoming *śāla* tree.[240] These railing pillars depict numerous shades of contemporary female life — a female standing under an *aśoka* tree and gathering its flowers; a female playing with a ball; a female in dancing pose; a lady feeding a parrot; a female taking bath under a precipice; a woman drying her hair after bath; a female looking into a mirror; a woman arranging her hair by looking into a mirror; a lady playing on a harp; a female putting on her necklace; a woman unloosing her girdle, etc.[241] These female figures present an admirable mixture of art and realism.

Some of the railing pillars with female figures, discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, appear to be a little earlier in period than the *toraṇa-śālabhañjikās* of the *stūpa* at Sanchi, and 'are superior in modelling to the railing pillar female figures of the *stūpa* at Bharhut'.[242]

Jaina art of Mathurā: Miscellaneous figures of the Kuṣāṇa period

The gateway-pillars of the Kuṣāṇa period are extremely rich in carving. One of these pillars bears an inscription recording the gift of a *toraṇa* by *śrāvikā* Balhastinī.[243] The two faces of these pillars are compartmented into a

239. P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 6; *JAA*, I, p. 60.
240. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
241. *JUPHS*, III, pp. 53 ff; P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
242. *JAA*, I, p. 60; V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, *op.cit.*, p. 267.
243. SML no. J, 532; *JAA*, I, p. 61 and Plate 11. B.

succession of panels which are separated from one another by a railing-motif.[244] The depiction on these panels is mostly mundane and consists of scenes of love, palace-life, drinking couple, a man attending to the coiffure of a woman, a woman decorating herself, dancing couple, etc.[245] The treatment of these scenes is admirable.[246] It is evident from these figures that in their portrayal the sculptor was not bound by the religious traditions of Jainism.[247]

Evaluation of the Jaina art of Mathurā: Pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa period

The history of the *jina* inconography of this period is chracterised by three stages of development. The figures of two *jina*s in seated meditative *mudrā* depicted on a lintel of the second century BC[248] are the earliest known specimens of the *tīrthaṁkara* figures carved at Mathurā.[249] In the next stage of development, the *tīrthaṁkara* image made its appearance on the *āyāgapaṭṭa*s, one of which[250] can be assigned to 50 BC.[251] This was followed by the production of independent stone images of the *jina*s, including *sarvatobhadrikā* images, during the Kuṣāṇa period.

Owing to the absence of distinctive symbols only a few of these *jina* figures have been recognised. Scholars are not unanimous in respect of their identification. According to Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari, the figures of six *jina*s — Ṛṣabha, Sambhava, Munisuvṛata, Nemi, Pārśva and Mahāvīra — were carved at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.[252] The Jaina inscriptions

244. SML no. J, 532; *JAA*, I, p. 61 and Plate 11. B.
245. *Ibid.*
246. *Ibid.*
247. *JAA*, I, p. 61.
248. SML no. J.349 and no. J.609.
249. *MCH*, p. 335.
250. SML no. J.253.
251. *MCH*, p. 335.
252. *JPV*, p. 49.

of Mathurā do not mention Munisuvṛata.[253] One of them makes mention of *arhat* Nandyāvarta.[254] The symbol *nandyāvarta* is the cognizance of Aranātha.[255] Nandyāvarta — the cognizance of Aranātha — was wrongly read as Munisuvṛata by K.D. Bajpai.[256]

We have already stated that the Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā contain the names of seven *arhat*s — Ṛṣabha, Sambhava, Śāntinātha, Nandyāvarta, Nemi, Pārśva and Mahāvīra. Therefore, Debala Mitra and N.P. Joshi hold that the names of at least seven *tīrthaṁkara*s were known to the sculptors of Mathurā. According to Debala Mitra, the images of Ṛṣabha, Sambhava, Śāntinātha, Aranātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra were carved at Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period.[257] But according to Joshi, the *jina*s depicted in these images are Ṛṣabha, Sambhava, Nemi, Śāntinātha, Sumatinātha, Pārśvanātha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra.[258]

Mathurā played a significant role in the development of the iconography of the *jina*s during the period under review. This period witnessed the production of independent images of many *jina*s. Quadruple images called the *sarvatobhadrikā* or *caumukha pratimā*s were also chiselled. The production of these images in this city began in the first century AD, and continued for many centuries.[259] The introduction of the *śrīvatsa* symbol in the *jina* figure was an innovation of the sculptors of Mathurā.[260] This symbol first occurred on the chest of Mathurā *tīrthaṁkara* figures in the first century BC,[261] and became a characteristic feature of the bulk of *jina* figures during the Kuṣāṇa

253. See *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2ff.
254. *Ibid.*, no. 47.
255. *JUPHS*, III, p. 23; *EI*, II, no. XX.
256. *JAA*, I, p. 66 fn 1.
257. *Ibid.*
258. *MCH*, p. 357.
259. *JPV*, p. 48.
260. *ISP*, p. 1; *JPV*, p. 46.
261. *JPV*, p. 80 fn 1.

period.[262] The sculptors of Mathurā also initiated the practice of depicting the *prātihāryas*, the *dharma-cakra* and other symbols on *tīrthaṁkara* figures during the period under review.[263]

The *lāñchanas* of various *jinas* had not evolved by this time, but some distinctive features were introduced in the figures of Ṛṣabha, Neminātha and Pārśvanātha. The sculptors of Mathurā depicted a single *caitya-vṛkṣa*, i.e., the *aśoka* tree in all *jina* figures of this period.[264] Male and female adorers, too, made appearance in some *jina* figures of this period.[265] This period further witnessed the depiction of some subordinate male and female deities of the pantheon of Jainism.[266] The sculptor of Mathurā was bound by the religious traditions of Jainism in the production of the images of the *tīrthaṁkaras*. Probably, he also lacked the ability to give perfect shape to the figures of the *jinas*. Consequently, the *jina* images of the period under review lacked artistic merit. But the sculptor of Mathurā was not shackled in respect of the production of figures other than those of the *jinas*. Therefore, the female figures produced by the master sculptors of Mathurā in the Kuṣāṇa period became poetry in stone.

The Jaina art of Mathurā: The Gupta period

Jainism did not lose its appeal in Mathurā in the post-Kuṣāṇa period. But it was not as popular in this city as it was in the Kuṣāṇa period. This is evident from the number of Jaina sculptures that have come to light at Mathurā. Government Museum, Mathurā and State Museum, Lucknow are the principal repository of Jaina antiquities discovered at Mathurā; they possess only fifty-nine Jaina sculptures which can be definitely assigned to the

262. *JUPHS*, III, pp. 2-17.
263. *Ibid.*
264. *MCH*, p. 357.
265. *Ibid.*
266. *Ibid.*

Gupta period.[267] Other museums in India and abroad, too, do not seem to possess Jaina sculptures of Mathurā of the Gupta period in considerable numbers.[268]

The Jaina sculptures of the Gupta period discovered at Mathurā consist of twenty-five *tīthaṁkara* images in the seated meditative *mudrā*, six *tīrthaṁkara* images in the standing meditative *mudrā*, twenty-three detached heads of *tīrthaṁkara* figures, and some fragmentary pieces.[269] It is, thus, evident that as in the Kuṣāṇa period so in the Gupta period the images of the *jina*s in the seated posture were more popular than those in the standing posture.

The Jina figures of Mathurā: The Gupta period

The cognizances or *lāñchana*s of the various *tīrthaṁkara*s did not evolve even in the Gupta period.[270] Therefore, the figures of the *jina*s have been recognised on the basis of inscriptions, hair styles, attendants and serpent-canopy.[271] It appears that images of only three *jina*s — Ṛṣabha,[272] Nemi[273] and Pārśva[274] — were carved at Mathurā during the Gupta period. The figures of Ṛṣabha have been identified on the basis of locks of hair,[275] and inscription incised on the figure.[276] The figure of Nemīnātha has been identified on the basis of his representation in the company of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma,[277] and

267. *JAA*, 1, p. 107.
268. *Ibid.*
269. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
270. *Ibid.*, p. 116; R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . ., op.cit.*, pp. 145-6.
271. *Ibid.*
272. *MM* nos. B. 6, B 7: *JUPHS*, III, p. 18; *JPV*, p. 50; *JAA*, I, p. 108.
273. *SML* nos. J.89, J.121; *JAA*, I, pp. 108, 109; *JPV*, p. 50.
274. *SML* no. J.100; *JAA*, I, p. 109; *JPV*, p. 50.
275. *MM* nos. B. 6, 268; *JUPHS*, III, pp. 18, 22.
276. *Ibid.*, B. 6, 268; *Ibid.* p. 22.
277. SML no. J.121; *JPV*, p. 50.

depiction of his attendant Balabhadra in one of the figures.[278] The figure of Pārśvanātha has been identified on the basis of the seven-hooded serpent-canopy over the head.[279] The four-fold *jina* figures lost popularity in the Gupta period. These images became rare.[280] Only one four-fold *jina* image of the Gupta period has come to light at Mathurā.[281] This image forms part of the collection of Government Museum, Mathurā.[282] Another near-contemporary four-fold *jina* figure discovered at Mathurā belongs to the seventh-eighth century AD.[283]

Characteristic features of the jina figures of Mathurā: The Gupta period

The *jina* figures of Mathurā belonging to the Gupta period do not depict the *lāñchanas* of the *jinas*. But some guidelines had been laid in respect of the carving of the *jina* figure. Varāhmihira tells:

> The distinguishing features of a *jina* figure are its long hanging arms, the *śrīvatsa* symbol, the peaceful appearance of form, youthful body and nudity.[284]

Nudity is one of the characteristic features of the *jina* figures carved at Mathurā during the Gupta period.[285] The seat depicted in the pre-Gupta *jina* figures of Mathurā was plain.[286] The character of the seat of the Jina changed

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278. SML no. J.89; *JAA*, I, p. 108.
279. *JPV*, p. 50.
280. *JAA*, I, p. 116.
281. *JPV*, p. 50. The quadruple *jina* image (MM no. B.68) assigned to the Gupta period by Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari belongs to the Kuṣāṇa period. See *JUPHS*, III, p. 11.
282. MM no. B.68; *JUPHS*, III, p. 11.
283. MM no. B.75; *JAA*, I, p. 108; *JUPHS*, III, pp. 21-2.
284. *JI*, p. 27 fn 2.
285. R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . ., op. cit.,* figures 3, 10, 11.
286. *JAA*, I, p. 111.

in the Gupta period.[287] In one of the Mathurā figures of this period *jina* Ṛṣabhanātha is depicted seated cross-legged in meditation on a cushion which is placed on a throne supported by a pair of lions.[288] The cushion or the *āsana* of the *jina* often bears ornamental patterns.[289] Another characteristic feature of the seated *jina* figures of Mathurā assignable to the Gupta period is the depiction of a profusely decorated back-rest.[290] This novelty was introduced by the sculptors of Mathurā during the Gupta period.[291] The bulk of *jina* figures of this period shows short schematic curls,[292] but notched hair[293] and hair combed back[294], can also be noticed in them.

The *śrīvatsa* symbol on the chest is another significant feature of the *jina* figures of this period.[295] The sculptors of Mathurā devoted special attention to the ornamentation of the halo or the nimbus in the figure of the *jina*.[296] It became customary to decorate the halo with motifs like lotus-petals, scroll-work, floral wreaths, scalloped border, leaf border, etc., in the Gupta period.[297] The *ūrṇa* mark is conspicuous by its absence in the bulk of *jina* figures of this period.[298] The pedestal of the *jina* figures of the Kuṣāṇa period is characterised by the depiction of the *dharma-cakra* (the wheel). Illustration of the wheel can be noticed on the pedestals of the *jina* figures of the Gupta period also.[299]

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287. *JUPHS*, III, pp. 18 ff.
288. *MM* no. B.7; *JUPHS*, III, p. 18.
289. *Ibid.*, *ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 111.
290. *SML* no. J.118; *JAA*, I, p. 111.
291. *JAA*, I, p. 111.
292. MM nos. B.44, B.45, B.46; *JUPHS,* III, p. 20.
293. MM no. 2348; *JUPHS,* III, p. 24.
294. MM no. 12. 268; *JAA*, I, p. 109 and Plate 47B.
295. *Ibid.*, nos. 1, 488, 624, etc.; *JUPHS*, III, pp. 18, 23.
296. *JUPHS*, III, pp. 18 ff.
297. *Ibid.*
298. *Ibid.*, MM no. B.44, p. 20; *JAA*, I, p. 109.
299. MM nos. B.31, B.15, etc.; *JUPHS,* III, p. 19.

Besides depicting the *śrīvatsa* symbol on the chest,[300] the sculptors of Mathurā carved the *dharma-cakra* on the palm and the sole in the figure of the *jina*.[301]

Evaluation of the jina figures of Mathurā: The Gupta period

The plastic art of Mathurā of the Gupta period was the logical outcome of the art of the Kuṣāṇa period;[302] but it also marked an advance upon the latter.[303] The celebrated Mathurā school of sculptural art attained peerless excellence during the Gupta period. This art was truly Indian, both in concept and execution. It was a period of heightened intellectual consciousness;[304] and it revolutionised the concept of beauty and expression in art. Restraint, serenity and spiritualism reigned supreme in the plastic art of the Gupta period, and this new concept of beauty changed the character of the figure of the *jina* also. The *jina* figures of the Kuṣāṇa period were cold, stiff, disproportionate, heavy and voluminous. They lacked expression and grace.

But the figures of the *jina*s carved at Mathurā during the Gupta period were slim and youthful; they symbolised movement and flow of energy.[305] The images of the *jina*s — great men who had attained immortal bliss — were differentiated from those of the worldly men.[306] Small curly hair, elongated earlobes, long arms, etc., supposed to be symbols of great men (*mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇas*), became hall-marks of the *jina* figures of Mathurā in the Gupta period.[307] The simple halo of the *jina* figure of the Kuṣāṇa period was replaced by a more elaborate and profusely ornamented halo in the Gupta period. The richness of the halo signified spread of knowledge from the body of the great

300. MM, nos. B.1, B.28, etc.; *JUPHS*, pp. 18, 19.
301. *Ibid.; ibid.*
302. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 72; S.K. Saraswati, *op.cit.*, p. 131.
303. V.S. Agrawala, *Studies . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 249.
304. S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
305. R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
306. *Ibid.*
307. *Ibid.*

man, i.e., the *jina*.[308] Like the Brāhmaṇical and the Buddhist figures, the *tīrthaṁkaras* figures of the Gupta period demonstrate triumph of spiritualism over materialism. It was the Mathurā sculptor of the Gupta period who protrayed the true character of the *jinas* in his creations. Spiritual beauty and calm contemplation pervade the *jina* figures of the Gupta period. These figures have been aptly described as spiritually luminous.[309]

One of the *tīrthaṁkara* figures of Mathurā belonging to the Gupta period is highly illustrative of the character of the *jina* figures of this period. This figure, which forms part of the collection of State Museum, Lucknow,[310] is one the finest creations of the Mathurā school of art.[311] It depicts a *jina* seated in meditation. The expression on the face of this figure is suggestive of supreme bliss; it is a state which can be attained only after passions have been burnt by the fire of knowledge.[312] It truly demonstrates the *jina*'s conquest of the body, of the senses, and of the world-stuff. The master sculptor of Mathurā exquisitely conveyed this idea through this extraordinary *jina* figure of the Gupta period. This beautifully modelled figure was discovered from Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathurā.[313]

Other Jaina figures of Mathurā: The Gupta period

The era of *āyāga-paṭṭas* had ended at Mathurā. It is evident from the fact that no *āyāga-paṭṭa* assignable to the Gupta period has come to light at Mathurā.[314] The independent images of the Jaina deities like Sarasvatī, Balabhadra and Dharaṇendra, too, were not carved at Mathurā during the period under

308. R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . ., op. cit.,* p. 144.
309. *JAA*, I, p. 68.
310. SML no. J.104; R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . . op.cit.,* figure 7.
311. R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures . . . op. cit.,* p. 152.
312. *Ibid.*
313. *Ibid.,* p. 153.
314. *JPV*, p. 47.

review.[315] The images of the *śāsana-deva*s and *śāsana-devī*s were also not chiselled.[316]

The Jaina art of Mathurā: Post-Gupta period

The *lāñchana*s of the twenty-four *jina*s evloved in about the eighth-ninth century AD, and this development gave a new shape to the *jina* figures in about the ninth-tenth century AD.[317] Numerous images of the *jina*s were carved in the medieval period, including the four-fold image of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra already referred to. In repsect of inconography the post-Gupta *jina* figures of Mathurā are superior to the earlier icons carved in this city.[318] But in the expression of ideas the Mathurā sculptor of the post-Gupta period could not match the excellence of the artist of the Gupta period.[319] The post-Gupta *jina* images of Mathurā are definitely inferior to those produced in the Gupta period in respect of depiction of expression.[320] The medieval *jina* figures of Mathurā are characterised by depiction of *lāñchana*s, and some of them show the attendant *yakṣa*s or *śāsana-deva*s also.[321] The pedestal of one of the *tīrthaṁkara* figures of Mathurā of this period[322] depicts the fish — the *lāñchana* of Aranātha, the eighteenth *tīrthaṁkara*.[323] *Uṣṇīṣa*,[324] decorated umbrellas[325] and flying *vidyādhara*s[326] can also be noticed in the figures of this period. These features were borrowed from the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist

315. *JAA*, I, p. 108.
316. *Ibid.*
317. *JPV*, p. 250.
318. *MS*, pp. 45-6.
319. *Ibid.*
320. *Ibid.*
321. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
322. MM no. 1388.
323. *Ibid.*, *JUPHS*, III, p. 23.
324 MM no. B.19; *ibid.*, p. 24.
325. *JUPHS*, III, pp. 24ff.
326. MM no. B.19; *JUPHS*, III, p. 24.

sculptures.[327] All *jina* figures of Mathurā assignable to the pre-Kuṣāṇa, Kuṣāṇa and Gupta period are nude.

But not all post-Gupta *tīrthaṁkara* images of Mathurā are naked.[328] It is evident that the difference between the *jina* images of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras on the basis of drapery and nudity manifested in the medieval period. The four-fold or *caumukha* images of the *jina*s were also carved during the period under review. The fragment of a four-fold *jina* image discovered at Gopālakherā depicts the figures of Ādinātha and Supārśva.[329] The Jaina iconography of the medieval period furnishes unmistakable evidence of the fact that the Jainas sincerely believed in the tradition of twenty-four *tīthaṁkara*s. A medieval period stele discovered from Gūjar Ghāṭī, Mathurā depicts the figure of a standing Jaina *tīrthaṁkara*; the twenty-three miniature figures carved on this stele represent the other *jina*s.[330]

The *lāñchana*s of the twenty-four *jina*s having been evolved, the Mathurā sculptor of the Gupta period left nothing to imagination regarding the identification of the images of the various *tīthaṁkara*s.[331] The pedestal of the *jina* figure depicted the *dharma-cakra* between two lions during the medieval period also.[332] The practice of depicting the *śrīvatsa* symbol on the chest and other sacred symbols on the palm and sole of the *jina* figure was customary.[333] Two figures or images provide a fair glimpse of the medieval *jina* iconography of Mathurā. One of them depicts *tīrthaṁkara* Ādinātha,

327. *MS*, p. 46.

328. MM no. A.60. The images of the *jina*s belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect are clothed during the medieval period. See MM no. A.60; *JUPHS*, III, p. 24.

329. MM no. 559; *JUPHS*, III, p. 29.

330. *Ibid.*, no. 536; *ibid.*

331. MM nos. B.21, B.22, B.76, 559, etc.; *ibid.*, pp. 24-5, 28-9.

332. MM no. B.65; *ibid.*, p. 27.

333. *Ibid.*, nos. B.25, B.79, B.80, etc.; *ibid.*, pp. 26, 29. The *jina* figures of the Digambara sect of this period are nude. See *MM* nos. B.80, G.46; *JUPHS*, III, p. 29.

who is seated on a cushion in meditation.[334] The *jina*'s seat is supported by two lions couchant between two broken pillars.[335] A piece of cloth with garlands hangs down from the seat and its border touches the wheel below.[336] Below the wheel is depicted a bull — the cognizance of *tīrthaṁkara* Ṛṣabha or Vṛṣabha.[337] The lower portion of the sculpture is divided by four pilasters into three compartments; in the proper right and central compartment there are two, and in the compartment to the left, there are three standing figures of the *jina*s; immediately beneath the outer pilasters are two kneeling figures of human worshippers; on both sides of the projecting portion of the stone is a vertical row of five figures; of these four are *jina*s who are seated in meditation; the missing top portion of the slab probably contained eight more *tīrthaṁkara* figurines, making the total twenty-four, which is the traditional number of the Jaina *tīrthaṁkara*s; the lowermost figures in both rows are a male and a female, who are probably a *yakṣa* and a *yakṣī*; the latter holds a flower in each hand; a *Nagari* inscription in one line runs along the raised rim over the lions; it reads:

oṁ paṁḍita śrī — gaṇavara-devāya.[338]

The second image depicts *tīrthaṁkara* Neminātha seated cross-legged in *dhyāna-mudrā* on a throne supported by two dwarf pillars and a pair of lions seated with one forepaw raised; from the throne an ornamental cloth hangs down between the two lions; under it is a wheel, and on the plain rim of the pedestal below it is a conch, which is the cognizance of Neminātha; to the right and left of the main figure there is an attendant standing with a fly-whisk in one hand, and on both sides of the halo, a couple of flying celestials — probably a *gandharva* and an *apsarā*, of which the male figure carries a garland as an offering, and the female seems to shower flowers.[339]

334. MM no. B. 21; *JUPHS*, III, p. 24.
335. *Ibid.*, no. B. 21; *ibid.*, p. 25.
336. *Ibid.; ibid.*
337. *Ibid.; ibid.*
338. *Ibid.; ibid.*
339. MM no. B.77; *JUPHS,* III, p. 28.

The figures of the *jinas* were the most significant products of the Jaina iconography of this period. But images of other Jaina deities were also carved. One of these figures depicts the Jaina male deity Kṣetrapāla.[340] A *jugaliyā* figure shows Marudevī and her husband seated under a tree, possibly *kalpavṛkṣa*.[341] One of the characteristic features of Jaina religious life in the post-Gupta period, both in north and south India, was independent worship of Jaina *yakṣīs*.[342] Therefore, images of the *yakṣīs*, too, were chiselled for worship at Mathurā during the post-Gupta period.

Two beautiful images of Jaina female deities called the *yakṣīs* or the *śāsana-devīs* belonging to the medieval period have come to light at Mathurā. One buff sand stone image of the tenth century AD represents Cakreśvarī, the *yakṣī* of Ṛṣabhanātha.[343] She stands on a lotus seat which is supported by her mount Garuḍa.[344] The head of the figure is gone; the broken head is sorrounded by an elaborated halo depicted in the shape of an expanded lotus-flower.[345] Originally, the image must have had ten arms, each of which held a *cakra*.[346] A female attendant stands on each side of the figure; the attendant to the right side holds a fly-whisk (*camara*), and that to the left holds a wreath.[347] On both sides of this figure there is a flying figure which carries a garland.[348] According to V.S. Agrawala and R.C. Sharma, this image of Cakreśvarī appears to be the Jaina version of the Brāhmaṇical female figure with ten arms, i.e., Vaiṣṇavī.[349]

Another buff sand stone image of the ninth-tenth century AD depicts

340. *MS*, p. 46 and figure 97.
341. MM no. 1111; *JUPHS*, III, p. 34; *MS*, p. 46.
342. *MS*, p. 46.
343. MM no. D.6; R.C. Sharma, *The Splendour . . . op.cit.*, pp. 158-9.
344. *Ibid.; ibid.*, pp. 158-9; *JUPHS*, III, p. 31.
345. *JUPHS*, III, p. 31.
346. *Ibid.*
347. *Ibid.*
348. *Ibid.*
349. *Ibid.*, III, p. 31; R.C. Sharma, *The Splendour . . ., op. cit.*, p. 158.

Ambikā, the *yakṣī* of Neminātha, who is the Jaina counterpart of Pārvatī.[350] Ambikā has an ornamental halo; she is seated on a lotus cushion which is supported by a couchant lion; she holds a bunch of flowers in her right hand; her left hand clasps a male child who is seated on her thigh and plays with the lower part of her necklace.[351] The image of Ambikā shows many deities — Gaṇeśa, Kubera, Viṣṇu, etc., and also the *caurī* bearing attendants.[352] The centre of top in this figure depicts a meditating *jina*, and the background shows beautifully chiselled flowers.[353] The pedestal of the image illustrates eight female devotees in adoration.[354]

Lāñchanas and attendant yakṣas and yakṣīs of the twenty-four tīrthaṁkaras

The *lāñchana*s of the twenty-four *jina*s evolved in about the eighth-ninth century AD. These *lāñchana*s are embodied in Jaina texts like *Kahāvalī*, *Pravacanasāroddhāra*,[355] *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* or *Pratiṣṭhāsārasaṁgraha*,[356] etc. The Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras are in agreement regarding the *lāñchana*s of the *jina*s except those of four — Supārśva, Śītala, Anant and Aranātha.[357] They also differ in respect of the attendant *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s of many *jina*s.[358] There is also a marked difference between the Digambara Jaina iconography of north and south India.[359] The *lāñchana*s of the twenty-four *jina*s and statement of their attendant *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s as given below should be viewed in the light of this background.

350. MM no. D.7; *JUPHS,* III, pp. 31-2; R.C. Sharma, *op. cit.,* p. 159.
351. *Ibid.; ibid.,* p. 31.
352. *Ibid.*; *ibid.,* p. 32; R.C. Sharma, *op. cit.,* p. 159.
353. *Ibid.*; R.C. Sharma, *op. cit.,* p. 159.
354. *Ibid.; ibid.*
355. *JPV*, p. 250.
356. *DJI,* Introduction, p. 9.
357. *JPV*, p. 250.
358. *JAA*, I, pp. 14-16.
359. *DJI,* Introduction, p. 9.

1. ṚṢABHANĀTHA

Ṛṣabhanātha's complexion is golden.[360] His *lāñchana* is bull or Vṛṣabha.[361] His attendant *yakṣa* is Gomukha,[362] and the attendant *yakṣī* is Carkreśvarī[363] or Apraticakrā.[364]

2. AJITANĀTHA

Ajitanātha's complexion is golden.[365] His *lāñchana* is elephant.[366] His *yakṣa* is Mahāyakṣa.[367] According to the Digambara tradition, his *yakṣī* is Rohiṇī.[368] But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, Ajitanātha's *yakṣī* is Ajitabalā[369] or Ajitā or Vijayā.[370]

3. SAMBHAVANĀTHA

Sambhavanātha's complexion is golden.[371] His *lāñchana* is horse.[372] His *yakṣa* is Trimukha.[373] According to the Digambara tradition, his *yakṣī* is Prajñapti.[374] But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his *yakṣī* is Duritāri.[375]

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360. *ERE,* VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 14; *OISJ*, p. 66.
361. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *JPV*, Appendix I, p. 254.
362. *DJI,* p. 21; *JPV*, Appendix I, p. 254; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
363. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
364. *JPV*, Appendix, I, p. 254.
365. *ERE*, VII, 466; *JAA*, I, p. 14.
366. *JAA*, I, p. 14; *JPV*, Appendix I, p. 254; *DJI,* p. 21.
367. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
368. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
369. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 96; *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
370. *JPV*, p. 96.
371. *ERE,* VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 14; *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
372. *JAA*, I, p. 14; *JPV*, p. 97.
373. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *DJI,* p. 21; *OISJ,* pp. 66-7.
374. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
375. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *OISJ,* pp. 66-7.

4. ABHINANDANANĀTHA

Abhinandananātha's complexion is golden.[376] His *lāñchana* is ape.[377] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his *yakṣa* is Yakṣeśvara.[378] But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his *yakṣa* is Nāyaka.[379] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his *yakṣī* is Vajraśṛṅkhalā.[380] But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his *yakṣī* is Kālikā[381] or Kālī.[382]

5. SUMATINĀTHA

Sumatinātha's complexion is golden.[383] His *lāñchana* is heron.[384] The name of his *yakṣa* is Tumburu.[385] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Puruṣadattā[386] or Naradattā.[387] But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his *yakṣī* is Mahākālī[388] or Sammohinī.[389]

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376. *JAA*, I, p. 14; *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
377. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 98; *ibid.*
378. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *DJI*, p. 21; *ibid.*
379. *Ibid.*, p. 14; *OISJ*, pp. 66-7. According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his *yakṣa* has been given as *īśvara* also. See *JPV*, Appendix I, p. 254.
380. *JAA*, I, p. 14; *JPV*, p. 98, *OISJ*, pp. 66-7.
381. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
382. *JPV*, p. 98.
383. *JAA*, I, p. 14; *OISJ*, pp. 66-7; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
384. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 99.
385. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*; *DJI*, p. 21.
386. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 99.
387. *JPV*, p. 99.
388. *JAA*, I, p. 14; *OISJ*, pp. 66-7; *JPV*, p. 99.
389. *JPV*, Appendix I, p. 254.

6. PADMAPRABHANĀTHA

Padmaprabhanātha's complexion is red.[390] His *lāñchana* is lotus-flower.[391] The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Kusuma.[392] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Manovegā[393] or Manoguptā.[394] But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Acyutā[395] or Śyāmā[396] or Mānasī.[397]

7. SUPĀRŚVANĀTHA

The complexion of Supārśvanātha is golden.[398] As per the Digmabara tradition, his *lāñchana* is nandyāvarta.[399] But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, his *lāñchana* is *svastika.*[400] The Digambara tradition holds that the name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Varanandin.[401] But according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Mātaṅga.[402] In the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Kālī[403] or Kālikā.[404] It is important

390. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *OISJ*, pp. 66-8; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
391. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 100.
392. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
393. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *OISJ*, pp. 66-8; *JPV*, p. 100.
394. *Ibid.*, *ibid.*, pp. 66-8.
395. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 100.
396. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *OISJ*, pp. 66-8.
397. *JPV*, p. 100 and Appendix I, p. 254.
398. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *ERE*, VII, p. 466.
399. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, Appendix I, p. 254.
400. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
401. *Ibid.*
402 *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 101.
403. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
404. *JPV*, p. 101.

to point out that the Śvetāmbara tradition suggests Kālikā[405] or Kālī[406] as the name of the *yakṣī* of Abhinandananātha, the fourth *tīrthaṁkara*.[407] According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of Supārśva's attendant *yakṣī* is Śāntā.[408]

8. CANDRAPRABHANĀTHA

Candraprabha's complexion is white.[409] The *lāñchana* of Candraprabha is half moon.[410] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Vijaya or Śyāma.[411] But as per the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Vijaya.[412] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Jvālāmālinī[413] or Jvālinī.[414] But the Śvetāmbara tradition records the name of his attendant *yakṣī* as Bhṛkuṭī[415] or Jvālā.[416]

9. SUVIDHINĀTHA OR PUṢPADANTA

His complexion is white.[417] His *lāñchana* is alligator (*makara*).[418] The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Ajita[419] or Jaya.[420] Accroding to the Digambara

405. *JPV*, p. 98 and Appendix I, p. 254.
406. *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 254.
407. *Ibid.*
408. *Ibid.*, p. 254; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
409. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
410. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 103.
411. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, Appendix I, p. 254.
412. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
413. *Ibid.*
414. *JPV*, Appendix I, p. 254.
415. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
416. *Ibid.*, p. 254.
417. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
418. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 254.
419. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
420. *JPV*, p. 254.

tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Mahākālī.[421] But as per the Śvetāmbara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Sutārakā[422] or Sutārā or Caṁdālikā.[423]

10. ŚĪTALANĀTHA

Śītalanātha's complexion is golden.[424] According to the Digambara tradition, his *lāñchana* is *svastika*.[425] But the Śvetāmbara tradition holds that his *lāñchana* is the *śrīvatsa* symbol.[426] The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Brahma[427]or Brahmā[428] or Brahmeśvara.[429] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendent *yakṣī* is Mānavī.[430] But the Śvetāmbara tradition records the name of his attendant *yakṣī* as Aśokā[431] or Gomedhikā.[432]

11. ŚREYĀṀŚANĀTHA

The complexion of this *tīrthaṁkara* is golden.[433] The *lāñchana* of the eleventh *tīrthaṁkara* is rhinoceros.[434] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Īśvara.[435] But the Śvetāmbara tradition gives the

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421. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
422. *JAA*, I, p. 15.
423. *JPV*, p. 104.
424. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
425. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 254.
426. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
427. *JPV*, p.105.
428. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I p. 15.
429. *JAA*, I, p.15.
430. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 254.
431. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 105.
432. *JPV*, p. 105.
433. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
434. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 105.
435. *Ibid.; ibid.*

name of his attendant *yakṣa* as Yakṣeṭ[436] or Yakṣarāja.[437] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Gaurī.[438] But the Śvetāmbara tradition mentions the name of his attendant *yakṣī* as Mānavī.[439] It may be pointed out that the Digambara tradition records Mānavī as the name of Śītalanātha's attendant *yakṣī*.[440]

12. VĀSUPŪJYA

The conplexion of Vāsupūjya is red[441] and his *lāñchana* is buffalo.[442] The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Kumāra.[443] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Gāndhārī.[444] But the Śvetāmbara tradition views the name of his attendant *yakṣī* as Caṇḍā[445] or Candrā or Ajitā.[446]

13. VIMALANĀTHA

The complexion of Vimalanātha is golden.[447] His *lāñchana* is boar (*varāha*).[448] The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Ṣaṇamukha.[449] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Vairoṭī[450] or Vairoṭyā.[451] But the

436. *JAA*, I, p. 15.
437. *JPV*, p. 105.
438. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
439. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
440. *JAA*, I, p. 15.
441. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
442. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 106.
443. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
444. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
445. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 106.
446. *JPV*, p. 106.
447. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
448. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 106.
449. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
450. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 254.
451. *JPV*, p. 106.

Śvetāmbara tradition mentions the name of his attendant *yakṣī* as Viditā.[452]

14. ANANTANĀTHA

Anantanātha's complexion is golden.[453] According to the Śvetāmbara tradition, his *lāñchana* is falcon,[454] but the Digambara tradition suggests his cognizance as bear.[455] The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Pātāla.[456] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Anantamatī,[457] but the Śvetāmbara tradition mentions her name as Aṅkuśā[458] or Varabhṛtā.[459]

15. DHARMANĀTHA

The complexion of Dharmanātha is golden.[460] His *lāñchana* is *vajra*.[461] The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Kinnara.[462] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Mānasī,[463] but the Śvetāmbara tradition gives her name as Kandarpā.[464]

16. ŚĀNTINĀTHA

The complexion of Śāntinātha is golden.[465] His *lāñchana* is deer.[466] According

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452. *Ibid.*, p. 254; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
453. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
454. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 107.
455. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
456. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
457. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
458. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
459. *JPV*, p. 107.
460. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
461. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 107.
462. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
463. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 254.
464. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
465. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
466. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 108.

to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Kimpuruṣa,[467] but the Śvetāmbara tradition mentions his name as Garuḍa[468] or Vārāha.[469] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his *yakṣī* is Mahāmānasī,[470] but the Śvetāmbara tradition gives her name as Nirvāṇī[471] or Dhāriṇī.[472]

17. KUNTHUNĀTHA

The complexion of Kunthunātha is golden,[473] and his *lāñchana* is goat.[474] The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Gandharva.[475] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Vijayā[476] or Jayā or Jayadevī.[477] But the Śvetāmbara tradition mentions her name as Balā[478] or Acyutā or Gāndhāriṇī.[479]

18. ARANĀTHA

Aranātha's complexion has been mentioned as yellow or golden.[480] According to the Digambara tradition, the *lāñchana* of Aranātha is *tagara*-flower[481] or

467. *JAA.*, p. 15.
468. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 108.
469. *JPV*, p. 108.
470. *Ibid.*, p. 254; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
471. *Ibid.*, p. 108; *ibid.*
472. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
473. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
474. *JPV*, p. 112; *ibid.*
475. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
476. *JAA*, I, p. 15.
477. *JPV*, pp. 112, 254.
478. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
479. *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 254.
480. *JAA*, I, p. 15.
481. *Ibid.*

fish.[482] But the Śvetāmbara tradition mentions his *lāñchana* as the *nandyāvarta* symbol.[483] The Digambara tradition gives the name of his attendant *yakṣa* as Kendra[484] or Khendra,[485] but according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, his name is Yakṣendra[486] of Yakṣeśa.[487] The Digambara tradition furnishes the name of his attendant *yakṣī* as Ajitā[488] or Tarāvatī or Vijayā.[489] But the Śvetāmbara tradition mentions her name as Dhanā[490] or Dhāriṇī or Kālī.[491]

19. MALLINĀTHA OR MALLI

Malli's complexion is blue.[492] His or her *lāñchana* is pitcher (*kalaśa*).[493] The name of this *tīrthaṁkara*'s attendant *yakṣa* is Kubera.[494] The name of the attendant *yakṣī* mentioned in the Digambara tradition is Aparājitā,[495] but according to the Śvetāmbara tradition, her name is Dharaṇapriyā.[496] Her

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482. *JAA*; *JPV*, p. 113.
483. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
484. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
485. *JPV*, p. 255.
486. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
487. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
488. *JAA*, I, p. 15.
489. *JPV*, p. 113.
490. *JAA*, I, p. 15.
491. *JPV*, pp. 113, 255.
492. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
493. *JAA*, I, p. 15; *JPV*, p. 114. We have already stated that according to the Digambaras Malli was a male, but according to the Śvetāmbaras, Malli was a female. In sculpture Malli has been depicted as a male. But one image of Malli (SML no. J.885) depicts this *jina* as a female; this is probably the only image which depicts Malli as a female. See *JPV*, p. 114.
494. *JPV*, p. 114; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
495. *Ibid.*, p. 255; *Ibid.*
496. *Ibid.*, *Ibid.*

name has been mentioned as Vairoṭyā also.[497]

20. MUNISUVṚATA

The complexion of this *tīrthaṁkara* has been mentioned as black.[498] His *lāñchana* is tortoise.[499] The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Varuṇa.[500] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Bahurūpiṇī[501] or Bahurūpā,[502] but the Śvetāmbara tradition gives her name as Naradattā[503] and Varadattā.[504]

21. NAMINĀTHA

The complexion of Naminātha is golden.[505] His *lāñchana* is blue lotus.[506] The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Bhṛkuṭi.[507] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Cāmuṇḍī[508] or Cāmuṇḍā.[509] But the Śvetāmbara tradition gives her name as Gāndhārī[510] or Mālinī.[511]

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497. *JPV*, p. 255; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
498. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
499. *JPV*, p. 255; *ibid.*
500. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
501. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
502. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
503. *Ibid.*, p. 255; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
504. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
505. *ERE*, VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
506. *JPV*, p. 255; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
507. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
508. *JAA*, I, p. 16.
509. *JPV*, p. 255.
510. *Ibid.*; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
511. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

22. NEMINĀTHA OR ARIṢṬANEMI

Neminātha's complexion is black.[512] His *lāñchana* is conch-shell.[513] According to the Digambara tradition, the name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Sarvāhaṇa,[514] but the Śvetāmbara tradition gives his name as Gomedha.[515] The Digambara tradition mentions the name of his attendant *yakṣī* as Kuṣmāṇḍinī,[516] but according to the Śvetāmbara tradition her name is Ambikā.[517]

23. PĀRŚVANĀTHA

Pārśvanātha's complexion is blue.[518] His *lāñchana* is snake.[519] The name of his attendant *yakṣa* has been given as Dharaṇendra[520] or Pārśva or Vāmana.[521] The name of his attendant *yakṣī* is Padmāvatī.[522]

24. VARDHAMĀNA MAHĀVĪRA

Mahāvīra's complexion is golden.[523] His *lāñchana* is lion.[524] The name of his attendant *yakṣa* is Mātaṅga.[525] The name of his attendant *yakṣī* is

512. *ERE,* VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
513. *JPV*, p. 255; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
514. *JAA*, I, p. 16.
515. *Ibid.*; *JPV*, p. 255.
516. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
517. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
518. *ERE,* VII, p. 466; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
519. *JPV*, p. 255; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
520. The Digambara tradition gives the name of his *yakṣa* as Dharaṇendra. See *JAA*, I, p. 16 and also as Dharaṇa; See *JPV*, p. 255.
521. The Śvetāmbara tradition gives the name of his *yakṣa* as Pārśva or Vāmana. See *JPV*, p. 255.
522. *JPV*, p. 255; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
523. *ERE,* VII, p. 466; *ibid.*
524. *JPV*, p. 136; *ibid.*
525. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

Siddhāyikā[526] or Padmā.[527] It may be pointed out that Mātaṅga has been mentioned as the *yakṣa* of Supārśvanātha also.[528]

The evolution of the *lāñchanas* of the twenty-four *jinas* added a new chapter to the history of Jaina iconography. The new image of the *jina* depicted his *lāñchana*, his attendant *yakṣa* and *yakṣī*, *aṣṭa-maṅgalas*, *dharma-cakra*, *nava-gṛhas*, figures of elephant, etc.[529] In short, the *jina* figure attained completion in the ninth-tenth century AD.[530]

The Jaina architecture at Mathurā

The Jaina architectural activity at Mathurā began with the construction of the *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā in the pre-Kuṣāṇa period. But, strangely enough, it did not extend beyond the Kuṣāṇa period. This is evident from the fact that archaeological excavations at Mathurā have not exposed any Jaina architectural antiquity which can be assigned to the post-Kuṣāṇa period. Excavations at Mathurā have brought to light a large number of Jaina inscriptions,[531] and architectural pieces like pillars, lintels, door-jambs, capitals, umbrellas, railing posts, cross-bars, coping stones, component parts of gateways, bracket-figures, tympana and other small or big fragments, which formed parts of Jaina buildings constructed in this city in the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa period.[532]

The Jaina *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā was constructed many centuries before the commencement of the Christian era. Inscriptions reveal that between the second century AD and the third century AD many more Jaina religious buildings were constructed at Mathurā. A Jaina temple (*pāsāda*) was erected

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526. *JPV*, p. 136; *JAA*, I, p. 16.
527. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
528. *JPV.*, p. 254; *JAA*, I, p. 15.
529. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
530. *Ibid.*
531. *EI*, X, Appendix, pp. 2ff.
532. *JS*, Introduction; *JAA*, I, p. 52.

at Mathurā as early as the middle of the second century BC. This is evident from the inscription which records the dedication of a *pāsāda-toraṇa* by a *śrāvaka* named Uttaradāsaka.[533] Two Jaina temples were built at Mathurā sometime in the first century AD. One of them was the donative gift of a Jaina lady named Dhāmaghoṣā.[534] The second Jaina temple constructed at Mathurā in the first century AD was the donative gift of a courtesan named Vāsu, whose donation consisted of a *devakula* (shrine) of the *arhat*, an *āyāga-sabhā* (hall), a cistern (*prapā*) and a *śilā-paṭṭa* (stone slab) in the *nirgrantha arhatāyatana* (sanctuary of the *arhat*s).[535] One more Jaina temple, called the temple of *arhat*s, was built in the year 299 of an unknown era at Mathurā. This is evident from the inscription (dated 299 of an unknown era) incised on the pedestal of a broken image which records the installation of an image of Mahāvīra in the temple (*āyatana*) of *arhat*s, and erection of a *devakula* (shrine).[536] Lohuizen is inclined to assign the aforesaid inscription to the pre-Kuṣāṇa period.[537] But R.C. Sharma fixes it in the transitional period which falls between the end of the Kuṣāṇa period and the beginning of the Gupta period.[538] It appears certain that *vihāra*s, i.e., monasteries for the residence of Jaina monks, were also built at Mathurā.[539] This is evident from the word *vihāra* which occurs on a fragmentary *āyāga-paṭṭa* discovered at Mathurā.[540]

Architecture of the Jaina shrines and monasteries at Mathurā

We have already stated that a large number of architectural pieces belonging to the Jaina religious buildings constructed at Mathurā have come to light.

533. *EI*, X, Appendix, no. 93.
534. *Ibid.*, no. 99.
535. *Ibid.*, no. 102.
536. *Ibid.*, no. 78.
537. *The Scythian Period.*, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
538. R.C. Sharma, *Jaina Sculptures*, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
539. *JAA*, I, p. 62.
540. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

But the fragments unearthed by archaeological excavations do not throw light on the architectural pattern of the Jaina buildings raised at Mathurā during the period under review.[541] The Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā was built of baked bricks. Most probably the Jaina temples, halls and monasteries were also built of bricks, and stone was generally used in the construction of pillars, pilasters, door-frames, windows, pavements and drain-channels.[542] Some specimens of the drain-channels have been discovered; they show that the sides of the drains were decorated with aquatic creatures like fish, fish-tailed *makara* and auspicious symbols.[543] Some specimens of the windows have also come to light.[544] One intact specimen shows square perforations at four corners of the connected crosses.[545] The central square of the crosses is criss-crossed into rows of diamonds, and the arms are decorated with four-petalled flowers.[546] A fragmentary perforated window is made of groups of petals, each group having four.[547] Another fragment shows an eight-petalled lotus.[548]

From the available material it is not possible to portray the form of the Jaina sanctuaries of Mathurā. The form of the Jaina shrines of Mathurā, therefore, is a matter of conjecture. In the Buddhist reliefs of Mathurā, belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, we find representation of apsidal and quadrilateral shrines.[549] One of these reliefs depicts a monastery within a compound-wall.[550] The entrance is flanked by pylon-like projections.[551] The

541. *JAA*, I, p. 62.
542. *Ibid.*
543. *JS*, Plate XLII; *JAA*, I, p. 62.
544. *Ibid.*, Plate XLI; *ibid.*, p. 62.
545. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
546. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
547. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
548. *JAA*, I, p. 62.
549. J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture De Mathurā*, 1930, Plate XXIIIa and XXIIIc; *JAA*, I, p. 62.
550. *Ibid.*, Plate XXIIIa; *ibid.*, p. 62 fn 1.
551. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*

lay-out of the cottages appears to be quadrangular.[552] The roofs, possibly tiled, are triangular in shape with a gable at either end.[553] The available material is a pointer that the Jaina *stūpa* or *stūpa*s at Mathurā bore a striking resemblance with the Buddhist *stūpa*s. We have no positive evidence of the form of the Jaina shrines of Mathurā. Probably, like the Buddhist shrines, the Jaina shrines of Mathurā were apsidal and quadrilateral.

A slightly less than half fragment of a typanum discovered at Mathurā, which forms part of the collection of the National Museum,[554] is commonly believed to be a part of the *toraṇa* of a Jaina *stūpa*.[555] Debala Mitra is of opinion that the aforesaid tympanum, an object of great interest, probably formed part of a Jaina shrine.[556] This exquisite tympanum needs detailed description. Debala Mitra writes:

> Both sides of this piece are exuberantly carved with care, the layout of the decoration being the same. Each face is divided into three semi-circular (half existing) panels within four bands decorated with floral and creeper motifs. The triangular spandril at the corner of the front side is relieved with a group of devotees approaching a *stūpa*; in front of the *stūpa* are four platforms crowned by *āyāga-paṭṭas*, while below the devotees is a covered wheeled carriage. A larger cortege of worshippers is seen above a similar carriage on the spandril of the reverse side; in front of this group are a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, a petal-shaped basket with garlands and three bowls covered by lids. The ends of the lunate panels of both the faces have fish-tailed *makara*s, the mouth of which is being opened by boyish figures in five cases. The rest of the available portion of the panels of two faces depicts men and women and flying vidyādharas proceeding towards the objects of

552. J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture De Mathurā*, 1930, Plate XXIIIa; *JAA*, I, p. 62.
553. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
554. *JAA*, I, Plates 12 and 13.
555. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
556. *Ibid.*

worship which were depicted in the central portion (missing) of the panels. While some devotees are on foot, others are within carriages drawn by bullocks and horses, and still there are others on the back of composite animals with fish-tails and serpentine bodies. In the top panel of the obverse is represented a *vimāna*, possibly drawn by *haṁsas*, an oblong structure with a semi-cylindrical roof having *caitya*-arches at two ends and railing at the base.[557]

THE JAINA STŪPA ARCHITECTURE OF MATHURĀ

The *stūpa*[558] and its concomitant railing[559] have been primarily associated with Buddhism.[560] In fact, the origin of the *stūpa* goes back to the Ṛgvedic period. The *Ṛgveda* speaks of the golden *stūpa* of Agni, i.e., the huge pile of splendour from which the cosmos is produced.[561] In the pre-Buddhist tradition, the *stūpa* was looked upon as a monument associated with the life of a great man, i.e., the enlightened one.[562] The Buddha or the enlightened one became an object of worship through the symbol of the *stūpa*.[563] According to tradition, the ashes of the Buddha were parcelled out into eight portions, each of which was deposited in a commemorative *stūpa*.[564] The *stūpa* originated as a piled-up burial-tumulus and constituted the most characteristic monument of Buddhism.[565] Symbolising the decease (*parinirvāṇa*) of the Buddha, the *stūpa* came to be looked upon as an object of Buddhist cult-worship by the time of Aśoka, i.e., the third century BC.[566]

557. *JAA*, I, pp. 62-3.
558. *IGI*, II, p. 110; V.S. Agrawala, *Studies . . ., op. cit.*, p. 77.
559. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
560. *Ibid.*; V.S. Agrawala, *Studies . . . , op. cit.*, p. 77.
561. V.S. Agrawala, *Studies . . ., op. cit.*, p. 77.
562. *Ibid.*
563. *Ibid.*
564. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-8.
565. *AII*, p. 77.
566. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

But the construction of the *stūpa* over the ashes of the enlightened one was not exclusive to the Buddhists. The art and architecture of India was not sectarian; all religions — Brāhmaṇism, Jainism and Buddhism — used the art of the age and the country, and all three drew on common store-house of symbolic and conventional devices.[567] Jaina traditions also refer to the practice of erecting the *stūpa*s over the ashes of the *jina*s.[568] The Jainas, too, constructed the *stūpa*s in honour of the *jina*s. According to Jinadāsa, a *stūpa* dedicated to *jina* Munisuvrata was built at Vaiśālī.[569] Marshall has associated the Sirkap *stūpa* near Taxila with Jainism.[570] According to Havell, many Jaina *stūpa*s existed during the Maurya period.[571] Somadeva and Jinaprabha Sūri make mention of only one Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā, i.e., the *devanirmita stūpa*. But the Digambara texts like the *Bṛhat-Kathā-Kośa* of Hariṣena speak about five Jaina *stūpa*s at Mathurā, all built by gods during a controversy with the Buddhists.[572] Jinaprabha Sūri leaves us in no doubt that a Jaina *stūpa* was built at a very early period and was repaired in the time of Pārśvanātha. In fact, the prejudice that all *stūpa*s and railings must necessarily be Buddhists has probably prevented the recognition of Jaina structures as such, and up to the present day only two undoubted Jaina *stūpa*s have been recorded.[573]

For a proper appreciation of the architecture of the Jaina *stūpa* or *stūpa*s constructed at Mathurā, it is necessary to provide a brief outline of four Buddhist *stūpa*s, especially the central Indian *stūpa*s, i.e., the *stūpa*s built at Bharhut and Sanchi. The *stūpa* was a solid structural dome (*aṇḍa*) usually raised on one or more terraces and invariably surmounted by a railed pavilion (*harmikā*) from which rose the shaft of the crowning umbrella

567. *IGI*, II, p. 110.
568. *SIJA*, p. 9.
569. *Ibid.*, fn 1.
570, *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
571. E.B. Havell, *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, 1915, p. 46.
572. *SIJA*, p. 63.
573. *IGI*, II, p. 111.

(*chatra*).[574] The *stūpa* had one or more circumbulatory passages (*pradakṣiṇā pathas*) which were usually enclosed by railing (*vedikā*).[575] The earlier *stūpas* were hemispherical in shape with a low base; but the latter ones assumed an increasingly cylindrical form with a well-developed drum.[576] In the latter examples, which tended to be more ornate, the base terraces and the umbrellas were multiplied.[577] The Buddhist brick-*stūpas* at Piparava in Uttar Pradesh and at Rajgir in Bihar, as has already been stated, were constructed in the fifth century BC. The Buddhist *stūpa* at Kushinagar in Uttar Pradesh has also been assigned to the same period.

But these brick-*stūpas* did not spring to life at once. It is obvious that the brick-*stūpas* developed from the earthen tumulus; kiln-baked brick slabs were later substituted for earth to ensure permanence to these structures.[578] A series of low-flattish *stūpas* built of mud or mud-bricks with baked brick-revetments standing at Lauriya may be roughly contemporary with the Piparava *stūpa*.[579] The original *stūpa* at Sanchi built by Aśoka in the third century BC was a low brick structure.[580] About a century later, the original brick-*stūpa* was enveloped in a stone casing and was enlarged to its present dimension to form an almost hemispherical dome truncated near the top.[581] It was in the latter half of the first century BC that four lavishly carved gateways (*toraṇas*) were erected, one in each cardinal direction as a magnificent entrance to this imposing monument.[582]

It is crystal clear that these gateways were conceived in wood and

574. *AII*, p. 78.
575. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
576. *Ibid.*
577. *Ibid.*
578. *IGI*, II, p. 102.
579. *AII*, p. 79.
580. *Ibid.*
581. *Ibid.*
582. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

executed in stone.[583] Each of them was alike in design and consisted of two square uprights surmounted by capitals which in their turn supported three architraves with a row of sculptured balusters in between.[584] Each of them was carved on both faces with *Jataka* tales, scenes from the life of the Buddha, and other motifs, the entire composition being significantly crowned by the *dharma-cakra* symbol.[585]

The surviving remains of the Bharhut *stūpa* in central India mainly consist of portions of enclosing stone railing, dating from 125 BC, and the eastern gateway, erected fifty years later.[586] They are of the same design as the Sanchi railing and gateways, and are richly carved with bas-reliefs.[587] The architecture of the Jaina *stūpa* or *stūpa*s constructed at Mathurā should be judged in the light of these developments.

We begin the discussion with the number of Jaina *stūpa*s constructed at Mathurā. Archaeological excavations conducted at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā unearthed some component parts of the *stūpa*. For an idea of the elevation and outer form of this *stūpa* we have to depend on representation of the *stūpa* on *āyāga-paṭṭa*s, tympana, reliefs on architraves of the gateways, etc.[588] According to Debala Mitra, the reliefs and dismembered stones of gateways and railings indicate that either more than one *stūpa* was built at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā or a single *stūpa* underwent restoration and embellishments at frequent intervals.[589] V.S. Agrawala[590] and P.K. Agrawala[591] opine that two Jaina *stūpa*s were built at Mathurā — one in the Śuṅga period and the other in the Kuṣāṇa period.

583. *AII*, p. 80; P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
584. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
585. *Ibid.*
586. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
587. *Ibid.*
588. *JAA*, I, p. 54.
589. *Ibid.*
590. V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā, op. cit.*, p. 224.
591. P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

The earliest Jaina *stūpa* at Mathurā was the one called *devanirmita* by Jinaprabha Sūri, Somadeva, and in one of the Jaina inscriptions. The *devanirmita stūpa*, which probably enshrined the relics of Pārśvanātha and built in the eighth century BC, must have been a clay-*stūpa*. It must have been built of mud or mud-bricks,[592] because burnt bricks became a medium of construction only in the fifth century BC. This mud-*stūpa* was the forerunner of the earliest brick-*stūpa* built by the Jainas at Mathurā, and was called *devanirmita*, like the preceding clay-*stūpa*.

The Jaina brick-*stūpa*s raised at Mathurā were indistinguishable from contemporary Buddhist *stūpa*s.[593] The components and representation of the *stūpa*s found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā do not reveal any characteristic that is not found in contemporary Buddhist *stūpa*s.[594] But for their more slender shape, the *stūpa*s at Mathurā possessed all features which were characteristic of the Buddhist *stūpa*s built at Sanchi and Bharhut in central India.[595] Structurally, the *toraṇa*s of the Mathurā *stūpa*s did not differ from those of Sanchi and Bharhut, the only difference being the decoration which was less elaborate in the former.[596] The *stūpa*s at Mathurā had dimensional railings and gateways loaded with reliefs and figures of endless description; they, thus, assimilated a rich stock of ancient symbols characteristic of ornamented *stūpa*s of Sanchi and Bharhut.[597]

The dome and drum of the Jaina *stūpa*s built at Mathurā were austere and plain like *stūpa*s 1, 2 and 3 at Sanchi.[598] But as at Sanchi so at Mathurā, the urge for decoration found manifestation in the railings and gateways, which are adjuncts and not essential elements of the *stūpa*.[599] It is, thus, clear

592. V.S. Agrawala, *Mathurā Kalā*, 1964, p. 79.
593. *IGI*, II, p. 111.
594. *JAA*, I, Editorial, pp. 6-7.
595. J. Ph. Vogel, *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java*, 1936, p. 30.
596. *ASIAR*, 1906-7, p. 147.
597. V.S. Agrawala, *Studies . . ., op. cit.*, pp. 55-6.
598. *JAA*, I, p. 57.
599. *Ibid.*

that the earliest Jaina brick-*stūpa* constructed at Mathurā was a contemporary or near-contemporary of the Buddhist *stūpa*s of Sanchi and Bharhut. The sculptors of Mathurā followed the art traditions of Bharhut and Sanchi,[600] more intimately those of the former.[601] It is evident that in the construction of the *stūpa* the architects of Mathurā followed the architectural traditions of Bharhut and Sanchi.

The Buddhist *stūpa* of Bharhut was built in the third century BC or the second century BC.[602] The *stūpa* of Sanchi was also originally built in the third century BC or the first century BC.[603] We have already stated that the Jaina *stūpa*s of Mathurā bore a striking stylistic affinity with the *stūpa*s of Bharhut and Sanchi. Therefore, it appears certain that the earliest Jaina brick-*stūpa* of Mathurā, too, was constructed in the third century BC or the second century BC.[604] The dome was the principal element of the *stūpa*. It was surrounded by a *pradakṣiṇā-patha* which was often fenced off by a railing. The railings of the *stūpa*s of Bharhut and Sanchi have been assigned to the second century BC.[605] The earliest *stūpa* railing discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā goes back to the second century BC.[606] It appears that the railing of the Jaina *stūpa* of Mathurā was also constructed in the second century BC. The gateways of the *stūpa*s of Bharhut and Sanchi were built in the second and first century BC respectively.[607] One of the earliest *toraṇa*-architraves discovered at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā appears to be a construction of the first century BC.[608] It appears that the *toraṇa*s of the

600. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *History . . . op. cit.*, p. 37; S.K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 62; V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, p. 261.
601. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
602. A. Cunningham, *The stūpa of Bharhut*, 1962, p. 14.
603. John Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, 1918, p. 31; *AII*, p. 79.
604. V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratiya Kalā*, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-80; P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.
605. *AII*, pp. 79-81.
606. *JAA*, I, p. 57.
607. *AII*, pp. 79-81.
608. *JAA*, I, p. 59; SML, no. J.535.

Jaina *stūpa* of Mathurā, 'which structurally did not differ from those of Sanchi and Bharhut',[609] were constructed in the first century BC.

The representation of a *stūpa* occurs on many Jaina architectural and sculptural antiquities discovered at Mathurā. These antiquities form part of the collection of State Museum, Lucknow,[610] Government Museum, Mathurā[611] and National Museum.[612] Chronologically, the earliest representation of a *stūpa* occurs on the obverse of the bottom architrave of the gateway of a *stūpa*.[613] On stylistic consideration of the figures represented on the architrave, the latter cannot be regarded later than the first century BC.[614] The *stūpa* depicted on the aforesaid architectural object is somewhat bell-shaped.[615] The two terraces of the circular drum of this *stūpa* have three-barred railings around them.[616] The hemispherical dome is crowned by a square three-barred railing; a conspicuous *chatra* rises from the centre of this railing.[617] A fourth railing enclosing the processional path is provided at the ground level.[618] Probably, this *stūpa* did not have a stone gateway originally.[619] It appears that this depiction represents the shape of the *devanirmita stūpa* built at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā[620] in the third century BC or the second century BC.

The *śilā-paṭṭa* donated by courtesan Vāsu bears a relief which depicts a developed form of *stūpa*-architecture.[621] The inscription on this *śilā-paṭṭa* is

609. *ASIAR,* 1906-7, p. 147.
610. SML nos. J.535; J.255; J.623; J.250; J.283; *JAA,* I, pp. 54-7.
611. MM no. Q.2; *JAA,* I, Plate 1.
612. *JAA,* I, Plates 12 and 13.
613. SML no. J.535; *JAA,* I, Plate 2A.
614. *JAA,* I, p. 54.
615. *Ibid.*, Plate 2 A; *ibid.*, p. 54.
616. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
617. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, pp. 54-5.
618. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 55.
619. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 55.
620. *Ibid.*, p. 55; V.S. Agrawala, *Bhāratīya Kalā*, *op. cit.*, p. 226.
621. MM no. Q. 2; *JAA*, I, Plate 1.

palaeographically assignable to early first century AD.[622] Probably, this depiction demonstrates the shape or form of the Jaina *stūpa* built at Mathurā in the pre or early Kuṣāṇa period. This *śilā-paṭṭa* or *āyāga-paṭṭa* depicts a complete *stūpa* which is sorrounded by a railing and approached by means of a flight of steps and an ornamental gateway (*toraṇa*).[623] This *stūpa* presents a contrast to the earlier Jaina *stūpa*, i.e., the *stūpa* constructed in the Śuṅga period. It has a high cylindrical drum which gives it a tower-like appearance.[624] This *stūpa* is built on a high platform which appears to be square.[625] This *stūpa* is flanked by two pillars of Persipolitan style, the one to the proper right carries or bears a wheel and the other a sitting lion.[626]

There are three worshipping figures on each side of the *stūpa*.[627] The two flying figures above the *stūpa* possibly represent the *munis* who were supposed to possess the power of transporting themselves through air.[628] They are naked and carry in the left hand a piece of cloth and a waterpot or almsbowl; their right hand is applied to the forehead in token of respectful salutation (*namaskāra*).[629] The second pair of figures may be identified with *suparṇas* corresponding to the harpies of classical art.[630] They have birds' tails and claws.[631] The one to the proper right carries a bunch of flowers, and the other a garland.[632] The two female figures leaning in a graceful attitude against the drum of the *stūpa* represent *yakṣīs*.[633] On each side of the staircase

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622. *JAA*, I, p. 55; V.S. Agrawala, *Bharatīya Kalā*, *op. cit.*, p. 226.
623. MM, no. Q.2; Vogel, *Catalogue*, Plate V; *JUPHS*, III, p. 35.
624. *JAA*, I, Plate 1 and p. 55.
625. *Ibid.*
626. *Ibid.*, Plate I; Vogel, *Catalogue*, Plate V; *JUPHS*, III, p. 35.
627. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
628. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
629. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
630. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
631. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
632. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*
633. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*

is a niche containing a standing figure, the nature of which is difficult to ascertain.[634] The figure to the proper right seems to be a male figure accompanied by a child, and that to the left appears to be a female figure.[635]

The *toraṇa* or gateway of this *stūpa* is of the usual type. This lavishly carved *toraṇa* bears a striking affinity with the *toraṇa*s of the *stūpa*s of Sanchi and Bharhut.[636] It consists of two oblong carved posts supporting three horizontal curvi-form architraves with ends simulating *makara*s.[637] Between the architraves are supporting blocks, and the two rolled ends of the bottom architrave are sustained by two lion-shaped brackets.[638] Crowning the top architrave is a honeysuckle motif flanked on either side by a *tri-ratna* (or *nandipada*) symbol, as in the eastern gateway of the *stūpa* of Bharhut.[639] Dismembered fragments unmistakably prove that the *toraṇa* of this Jaina *stūpa* was modelled on the lines of the *stūpa*s of Sanchi and Bharhut.[640]

The terrace over the high platform of this *stūpa* served as a processional path.[641] The terrace in this *stūpa* is enclosed by a three-barred railing, the latter is pierced by a *toraṇa*.[642] Access to this terrace is provided by a balustrated staircase of eight steps right in front of this *toraṇa* or gateway.[643] A distinctive feature of this *stūpa* is depiction of two high pillars, one each at the front corners, which are of the height of the *stūpa* above the platform.[644] The relief on this *śilā-paṭṭa* or *āyāga-paṭṭa* is a miniature replica of the *stūpa*.

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634. *JAA*, I, Plate I; Vogel, *Catalogue*, Plate V; JUPHS, III, p. 35.
635. *Ibid.*; p. 55 and Plate 1.
636. *Ibid.*
637. *Ibid.*
638. *Ibid.*
639. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-6 and Plate 1.
640. *Ibid.*, and Plate 1.
641. *Ibid.*, p. 55 and Plate 1.
642. *Ibid.*
643. *Ibid.*
644. *Ibid.*, p. 56 and Plate 1.

Probably, there were two more pillars at the remaining two corners of this *stūpa*.[645]

The railings of the Jaina *stūpa*s of Mathurā deserve special notice. These *stūpa*s either perished of their own or 'were destroyed by ruthless agencies at some later date'.[646] But the remaining pieces of the railing pillars show decorative skill of the highest class 'and a perfection of plastic art not attained at any time before or after'.[647] The railing formed an enclosure round a monument built of stone, but on a pattern similar to that of a bamboo-railing.[648] The stone railing round the *stūpa* appeared as a series of upright posts, each pair of them joined together by three cross-bars inserted in the mortices cut into the narrower sides of the pillars, and held in position on top by the copings and at bottom by the base-stones held by the similar mortice-and-tenon devices.[649]

In the beginning the *aṇḍa* or the main hemispherical body of the *stūpa* was plain.[650] This architectural plan left no scope for the sculptors to display their decorative skill. They, therefore, unfolded their craft in the decoration of the *toraṇa* (gateway) and railing (*vedikā*) of the *stūpa*. The sculptors embellished the *toraṇa* and the railing of the *stūpa* with figure-sculptures of rare beauty. The railing which once sorrounded the *stūpa* of Bharhut and the *stūpa* No. 2 at Sanchi bear testimony to it.[651]

The real charm of the rail posts of the Mathurā *stūpa*s lies in depiction of female figures. These figures have been conceived and represented in

645. *JAA*, I, p. 56 and Plate 1.
646. P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
647. *Ibid.*
648. *Ibid.*, p. 2; V.S. Agrawala, *Masterpieces . . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.
649. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
650. The *aṇḍa* of the Sāñcī *stūpa* is a classical example. See *JAA*, I, p. 57; P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
651. P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

numerous forms and poses.[652] They are the finest specimens of the contemporary plastic art of Mathurā, and have elicited great praise from connoisseurs of art.[653] Cunningham held that these female figures represent dancing girls.[654] Cunningham's judgement was wrong, and it was ably refuted by scholars like Vogel and V.A. Smith.[655] Some of these figures are shown naked.[656] But in other figures the apparent nudity is merely an artistic convention.[657] Vogel described these female figures as figures of *yakṣiṇīs,* like the somewhat similar figures of the railing of the Bharhut *stūpa.*[658] In fact, the females depicted on these railing pillars are *śālabhañjikās.*[659] In the terminology of art, the term *śālabhañjikā* originally denoted 'the woman plucking (and gathering) *śāla* flowers by standing under a *śāla* tree'.[660] A graphic description of such females, who are depicted on the Jaina and Buddhist railings at Mathurā, is embodied in the Jaina text entitled *Rayapaseṇiya-Sutta.*[661] This and other Jaina *sūtras* clearly state that the term *śālabhañjikā* was used for beautiful female figures carved on the pillars of a *stūpa*-railing.[662]

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652. *JUPHS*, III, pp. 53-67.
653. *JAA*, I, pp. 60-1; P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6; V.S. Agrawala, *Mathurā Kalā*, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
654. *ASIAR*, III, p. 26.
655. *ASIAR* (1906-7), pp. 145-6; *HOFA*, p. 140.
656. *HOFA*, p. 140.
657. *Ibid.*
658. *ASIAR* (1906-7), pp. 145-6; *HOFA*, p. 140.
659. *HOFA*, pp. 140-1; *JAA*, I, p. 60; P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 6; V.S. Agrawala, *Mathurā Kalā*, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-2.
660. P.K. Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 6; V.S. Agrawala, *Mathurā Kalā*, pp. 41-2.
661. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*
662. *Ibid.*, p. 11; *ibid.*, pp. 41-2.

7

Jainism in Mathurā

Eleventh Century AD to the Present Times

In the opening years of the eleventh century AD Mathurā was a beautiful, populous and prosperous city, full of majestic temples and buildings.[1] According to contemporary Muslim historians like Al-beruni[2] and Utbi,[3] and later Muslim historians like Firishta,[4] it was a Hindu city devoted to Vaiṣṇavism, particularly to the Kṛṣṇa cult. There is no mention of Buddhism in the accounts of the aforesaid Muslim historians. It appears certain that by this time Buddhism had become non-existent in this city. Contemporary Muslim historians do not make mention of Jainism also. But unlike Buddhism, Jainism was a living religion in Mathurā even in the eleventh century AD.

A great misfortune enveloped Mathurā in the first quarter of the eleventh century AD. Mahmud of Ghazni invaded it in AD 1018 and plundered, burnt and destroyed this city. The accounts left behind by Utbi[5] and Firishta[6] make it crystal clear that Mathurā was almost completely annihilated. But the donative inscription dated AD 1023, and the colossal image of *jina* Padmaprabhanātha dated AD 1077, indicate that somehow the two Jaina temples at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā escaped destruction.[7] The aforesaid *vs.* inscriptions

1. Elliot and Dowson, II, pp. 44-5.
2. *Alberuni's India*, Sachau, vol. I, 1914, pp. 199, 400-6.
3. Elliot and Dowson, II, pp. 44-5.
4. John Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
5. Elliot and Dowson, II, pp. 44-5.
6. John Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-9.
7. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 3-4.

are evidence of the fact that these temples were centres of Jaina worship even in the eleventh century AD, one of them even about sixty years after Mahmud's destruction of Mathurā.[8]

Mathurā was in a state of ruin for many centuries after Mahmud's invasion. This is evident from the fact that the next mention of this place in contemporary Muslim histories occurs as late as the latter half of the fifteenth century AD. Mathurā could not recover from this annihilation for many centuries. It made some recovery, but misfortune once again struck sometime between AD 1489 and AD 1517 and Mathurā suffered heavy destruction at the hands of Sikandar Lodi.[9] It is because of these unfortunate developments that we are in dark about the state of this city in the period between the eleventh century AD and the fifteenth century AD.

The two Jaina temples which escaped destruction in AD 1018 either perished of their own after AD 1077 or 'were destroyed'[10] at some unknown date. Some Jaina texts inform that Jaina religious life flourished at Mathurā even in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth century AD,[11] and *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa* seems to convey the impression that the Jaina *stūpa* was in existence even in the first half of the fourteenth century AD.[12] There is no confirmation of this in contemporary Muslim histories and other texts. In fact, between AD 1018 and the latter half of the sixteenth century AD, the only mention of Mathurā in contemporary Muslim accounts is Sikandar Lodi's destruction of Hindu temples and idols in this city.

F.S. Growse comments,

> During the period of Muhammadan supremacy, the history of Mathurā is almost a total blank. The natural dislike of the ruling

8. *JS*, Introduction, pp. 3-4.
9. Elliot and Dowson, IV, p. 447.
10. *JS*, Introduction, p. 4; *Yaśastilaka,* p. 433.
11. R.C. Sharma, *Braj Kā Prācīn Tīrtha Kaṅkālī Sthala*; paper presented at the National Seminar held at Ajmer on 15 and 16 October, 1999, pp. 5-6.
12. *MCH*, pp. 210-11.

> power to be brought into close personal connection with such a centre of superstition divested the town of all political importance; while the Hindu pilgrims, who still continued to frequent its impoverished shrines, were not invited to present, as the priests were not anxious to receive, any lavish donation which would only excite the jealousy of the rival faith. Thus, while there are abundant remains of the earlier Buddhist period, there is not a single building, nor fragment of a building, which can be assigned to any year in the long interval between the invasion of Mahmud in AD 1017 and the reign of Akbar in the latter half of the sixteenth century.[13]

In view of these circumstances it appears highly improbable that the Jaina *stūpa* of Mathurā continued to exist up to the first half of the fourteenth century AD.

It is said that an eminent Jaina named Sahu Todar built 514 new *stūpa*s at Mathurā with the permission of Akbar during his reign, and a great celebration was held in this city in AD 1573 to commemorate it.[14] We find no mention of these Jaina *stūpa*s in the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl, the court historian of Akbar, who makes only a passing reference to Mathurā in his celebrated work.[15] He described Mathurā as a city which had some fine Hindu temples.[16] In fact, Mathurā was in a state of ruin.

Father Monserrate, a member of a Christian mission, travelled to Fatehpur Sikri from Goa on the invitation of Akbar.[17] This mission reached on 19 February, 1580 and stayed as Akbar's guest up to April, 1582.[18] In the course of his journey, Monserrate passed through Mathurā and found it in

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13. *MDM,* pp. 33-4.
14. J.P. Jain, *Pramukh Aitihāsik Jaina Puruṣa Aur Mahilāyen*, 1975, p. 285; *Poddār Abhinandan*, p. 826.
15. *Ain-i-Akbarī*, II, p. 192.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
17. A.L. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 467.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 467.

a state of ruin. Monserrate wrote,

> It used to be a great and well-populated city, with splendid buildings and a great circuit of walls. The ruins plainly indicate how imposing its buildings were. For out of forgotten ruins are dug out ancient statues of skilful and cunning workmanship. Only one Hindu temple is left out of many, for the Musalmans have destroyed all except the pyramids.[19]

Akbar was a liberal and tolerant king, and his reign witnessed the revival of Hindu building activity at Mathurā and Vrandaban. Construction of Hindu religious buildings continued during the reign of Akbar's son Jehangir. Mathurā became the headquarters of a district during the intolerant reign of Aurangzeb (AD 1658-1707).[20] But it again suffered destruction at the hands of Ahmad Shah Abdali in AD 1757.[21] On the whole, the period from AD 1018 when Mathurā suffered destruction at the hands of Mahmud of Ghazni, to AD 1757 when this city was destroyed by Ahmad Shah Abdali, was an unfortunate time in the history of the place and after the eleventh century AD, Jainism appears to have gained some importance in Mathurā only in the nineteenth century AD.

In the nineteenth century, Jainism gained some prominence in Mathurā because of its profession by Seth Raghunath Das,[22] son of famous Mathurā banker Seth Lakhmi Chand,[23] and grandson of famous Mathurā banker Mani Ram.[24] But the Jaina population in Mathurā did not count much in the

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19. The commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J. on his journey to the court of Akbar, tr. J.S. Holyland, 1922, p. 93; A.L. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, vol. III, 1973, p. 11.
20. R.S. Whiteway, *Report on the settlement of the Muttrā District*, 1879, p. 11; *DGM*, 1911, p. 137.
21. Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, vol. I, 1961, p. 58; K.R. Qanungo, *History of the Jats*, vol I, 1950, p. 103.
22. *DGM*, 1911, p. 82.
23. *MDM*, p. 14.
24. *Ibid.*

nineteenth century. The Jainas usually known as Sarāugīs, and almost exclusively belonging to the *bania* community,[25] numbered only 1593 in the Mathurā district in 1882.[26] The Jainas were not a large community in the Mathurā district in 1911,[27] and according to the census of 1951, they numbered only 2055 in the district.[28] Mani Ram, Lakhmi Chand and Raghunath Das were devout Jainas.[29] Raja Lakshman Das, a cousin of Raghunath Das, was one of the principal leaders of the Jaina community.[30] He founded the Bhāratavarṣīya Digambara Jaina Mahāsabhā in AD 1884, and organised some sessions of this body at Mathurā.[31]

Jainism made considerable progress in Mathurā in the twentieth century. Up to 1911, there were only three Jaina temples in the city of Mathurā; one at Chaurasi, and one each in Ghia Mandi and Caubes' Quarter, both dedicated to *jina* Padmaprabha.[32] At present there are ten Jaina temples and *dharmaśālā*s in Mathurā and its immediate neighbourhood. These are — (1) Śrī 1008 Candraprabhu Bhagvan Digambara Jaina Mandir, Jaina Gali, Mathurā; (2) Śrī 1008 Padmaprabhu Bhagvāna Digambara Jaina Mandir, Manik Chowk, Mathurā; (3) Śrī 1008 Candraprabhu Digambara Jaina Mandir, Jaisiṁhapura, Mathurā; (4) Śaṁkheśvara Pārśvanātha Śvetāmbara Jaina Mandir, Jaina Gali, Mathurā; (5) Śrī 1008 Ādinātha Bhagvān Digambara Jaina Mandir, Vrandaban; (6) Sethani Ji Ka Chaityalaya, opposite Śrī Dvārakādhīśa Mandir, Mathurā; (7) Śrī 1008 Ādinātha Digambara Jaina Chaityalaya, Chaurasi, Mathurā; (8) Digambara Jaina Dharmaśālā, Jaina Gali, Mathurā; (9) Śvetāmbara Jaina Dharmaśālā,

25. *MDM*, p. 12; *DGM*, 1911, p. 82.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
27. *DGM*, 1911, p. 82.
28. *Ibid.*, 1968, pp. 83-4.
29. J.P. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 354.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 354-5.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 355.
32. *MDM*, pp. 12-13; *DGM*, 1911, pp. 82-3.

Jaina Gali, Mathurā; (10) Śrī 1008 Jambūsvāmī Digambara Jaina Siddhakṣetra temple, Chaurasi, Mathurā.[33]

The principal Jaina temple in Mathurā stands in the Keshopur locality.[34] The site is called Chaurasi,[35] and the temple is also popularly called Chaurasi.[36] The site where this Jaina temple stands is called Śrī 1008 Jambūsvāmī Digambara Jaina Siddhakṣetra, Chaurasi by the Jainas.[37] F.S. Growse felt that this site is called Chaurasi for some unexplained reasons.[38] But the Jainas hold that it was at this site that Jambūsvāmī attained *nirvāṇa* at the age of eighty-four years and it was probably due to this happening that this site came to be known as Chaurasi.[39]

The Jaina temple at Chaurasi, Mathurā was built by Mani Ram,[40] sometimes in the nineteenth century.[41] Mani Ram enshrined in it an image of *tīrthaṁkara* Candraprabha.[42] Sometime about the middle of the nineteenth century,[43] Mani Ram's grandson Seth Raghunath Das,[44] brought a large marble statue of *tīrthaṁkara* Ajitanātha from Gwalior.[45] It is the aforesaid image of Ajitanātha which occupies the pride of place in the Jaina temple at Chaurasi, Mathurā.[46] It is said that Jambūsvāmī practised penance at this

33. *Introductory Booklet,* pp. 1-6.
34. *MDM,* p. 12; *DGM,* 1911, p. 82.
35. *Ibid.,* p. 13; *ibid.,* p. 83; *Introductory Booklet*, p. 1.
36. *Ibid.,* p. 13; *ibid.,* p. 83.
37. *Introductory Booklet,* p. 1.
38. *MDM,* p. 13.
39. *Introductory Booklet,* p. 1.
40. *MDM,* p. 13; *DGM,* 1911, p. 83; *Introductory Booklet,* pp. 1-2.
41. *Ibid.,* pp. 12-13; *ibid.,* pp. 82-3.
42. *Ibid.,* p. 13; *ibid.,* p. 82.
43. *DGM,* 1911, p. 82
44. *MDM,* p. 14.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 13; *DGM*, 1911, p. 82; *Introductory Booklet*, pp. 2-3.
46. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 3.

site,[47] and that his name is recorded in an old and almost effaced inscription on a slab that is still preserved under the altar.[48]

F.S. Growse, the collector of Mathurā district, was not impressed by the architecture of the Jaina temple at Chaurasi, Mathurā. Writing about 125 years ago, he described it as 'as bare and unimpressive place of worship as any Methodist meeting-house'.[49] F.S. Growse wrote about the Jaina temple at Chaurasi, Mathurā thus:

> After ascending a flight of steps and entering the gate, the visitor finds himself in a square paved and cloistered courtyard with the temple opposite to him. It is a very plain solid building, arranged in three aisles, with the altar under a small dome in the centre aisle, one bay short of the end, so as to allow of a processional at the back. There are no windows, and the interior is lighted only by the three small doors in the front, one in each aisle, which is a traditional feature in Jaini architecture. What with the want of light, the lowness of the vault, and the extreme heaviness of the piers, the general effect is more that of a crypt than of a building so well raised above the ground as this really is.[50]

The site has undergone a sea change. The Jaina temple at Chaurasi now stands in the midst of a vast and beautiful complex characterised by a large garden, *dharmaśālā*s, a canteen, a store, an office, etc.[51] The *dharmaśālā*s in this complex have about forty rooms, most of which have due amenities. The *dharmaśālā* of the temple is sorrounded by a large and beautiful garden measuring about 6.5 acres. This garden is full of trees and flowers of many varieties. Three tube-wells meet the irrigational requirements of this garden.

47. *MDM*, p. 12; *DGM*, 1911, p. 82; *Introductory Booklet*, p. 1.
48. *Ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 82.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
51. *Introductory Booklet*, pp. 1-6.

A boundary wall has been constructed to provide security to the temple, the *dharmaśālā*s and the garden.

A beautiful stone *mānastambha* was constructed in AD 1929 in front of the main entrance gate of the temple. The managing committee of the Jambūsvāmī Digambara Jaina Siddhakṣetra Chaurasi, Mathurā, has chalked out many plans for the development of this temple and site, and these include the construction of a *parikramā mārga* (processional path) around this temple. A bird sanctuary has also been built near the main entrance gate of the temple complex; food and drinking water requirements of the birds are properly taken care of in this sanctuary.

The exterior of this temple is still plain. But as a result of marble flooring, construction work of a varied nature, and other renovations which are in progress, the interior of the Jaina temple at Chaurasi, Mathurā, presents a fairly impressive appearance now. The large marble image of *tīrthaṁkara* Ajitanātha is a seated figure of the conventional type.[52] The expression of smile in this image is particularly worth attention. Many *vedī*s embellish the interior of this temple. One of them bears the white marble image of Bāhubali in the *kāyotsarga* posture. Another *vedī* contains the white marble image of *jina* Pārśvanātha in the seated meditative posture. A characteristic feature of this *vedī* is the installation of white marble statues of *saptarṣi*s in the *kāyotsarga* posture in front of the image of Pārśvanātha. Another *vedī* contains the image of *jina* Candraprabha; fifty-two stone and metal images installed on this *vedī* include the images of *jina* Śāntinātha and Jambūsvāmī.

A *vedī* contains an ancient stone image of Pārśvanātha; this image is flanked by two images of this *jina*, one on each side. Another *vedī* contains the images of many *jina*s — two white marble images of Pārśvanātha; two images of Neminātha, one built of white marble and the other of red sandstone; a white marble image of Ṛṣabha; a white marble image of Ajitanātha, and a red sand stone image of Padmaprabha. One *vedī* contains the images of the *jina*s Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha and Ṛṣabhanātha; the white

52. *MDM*, p. 13.

marble image of Mahāvīra is the principal idol on this *vedī;* one image of Pārśvanātha is built of brass and the other of black stone; the solitary image of Ṛṣabha is built of brass. Another *vedī* contains a white marble image of Jambūsvāmī in the *kāyotsarga* posture. The images of some Jaina male and female deities — Kṣetrapāla, Sarasvatī and Padmāvatī, too, have been installed in the complex of this temple.

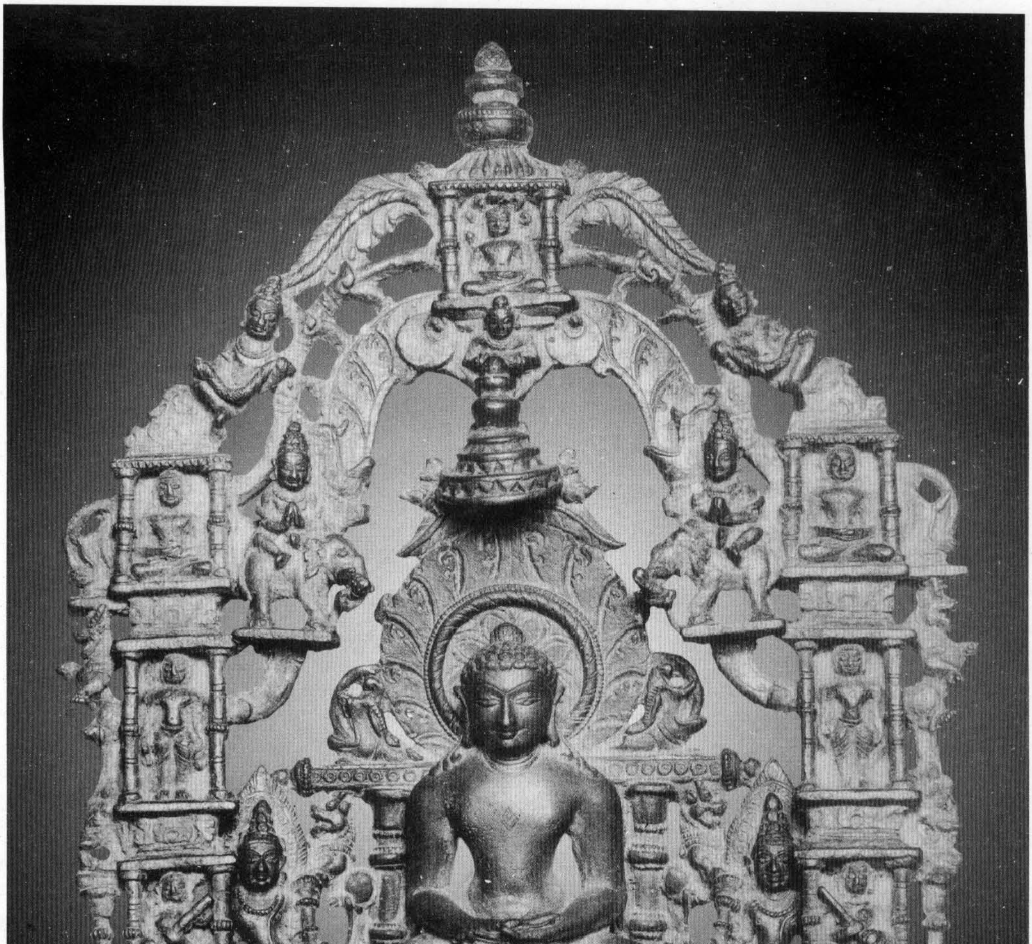
An annual fair was instituted in AD 1870 at the Chaurasi site by a Bharatpur Jaina named Nain Sikh.[53] This tradition continues. Originally, the annual Jaina fair at Chaurasi, Mathurā was held for a week in October-Novemeber.[54] Presently, it is held on 26 January every year. A *Rath-yatra Mahotsava* on the occasion of the annual fair, and religious and cultural programmes are the characteristic features of this fair, which attracts Jaina pilgrims from many parts of the country.[55] A varied Jaina establishment, including an educational institution, has grown around the Jaina temple at Chaurasi, Mathurā. This temple is the principal centre of Jaina religous and cultural life at Mathurā. Śrī 1008 Jambūsvāmī Digambara Jaina Siddhakṣetra Chaurasi, Mathurā is held in great esteem by the Jainas and Chaurasi, attracts Jaina pilgrims from many parts of the country.

The Jainas in Mathurā are divided into the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sect. But, despite their differences, the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras are one regarding the doctrines and discipline of Jainism, at least in respect of fundamental and significant points. Therefore, one can speak of Jainism as a whole. Most of them are educated and economically well-off, and enjoy a respectable position in the city. The Jainas are not a large community in Mathurā. But their religious zeal and fervour have made Jainism a living and vibrant religion in this city.

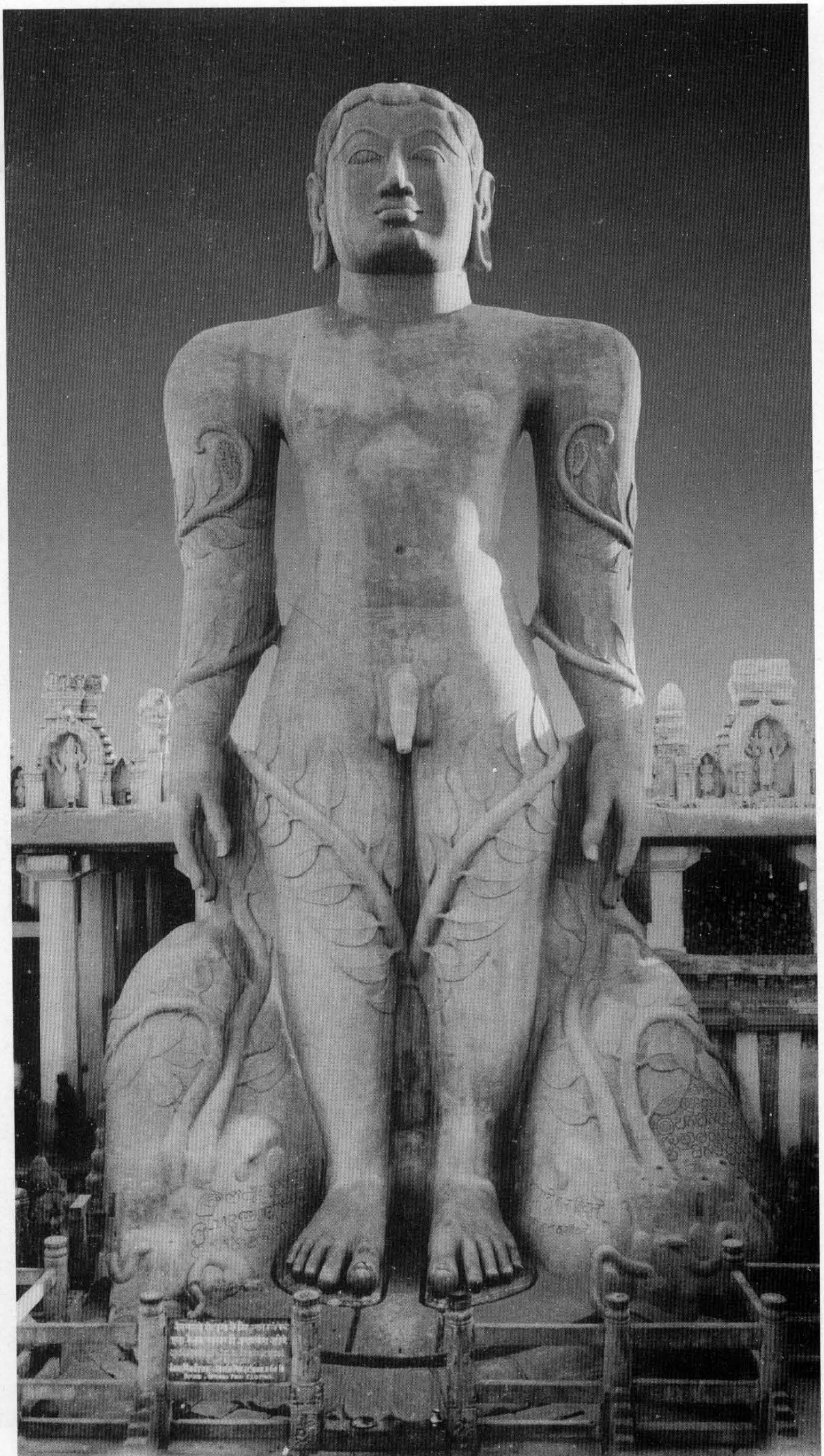
53. *MDM*, p. 13; *DGM*, 1911, p. 83.

54. *MDM*, p. 13; *DGM*, 1911, p. 83. According to Dr. Jyoti Prasad Jain, the 8-day Kārtikī fair at Chaurasi, Mathurā and the *Rathotsava* were instituted by Seth Raghunath Das. See J.P. Jain, *Pramukha ...*, *op.cit.*, p. 354.

55. Information provided by Dr. Jai Prakash Jain; Souvenir of the Annual Fair and Rath yatra, Jaina Siddhakṣetra, Chaurasi, Mathurā.



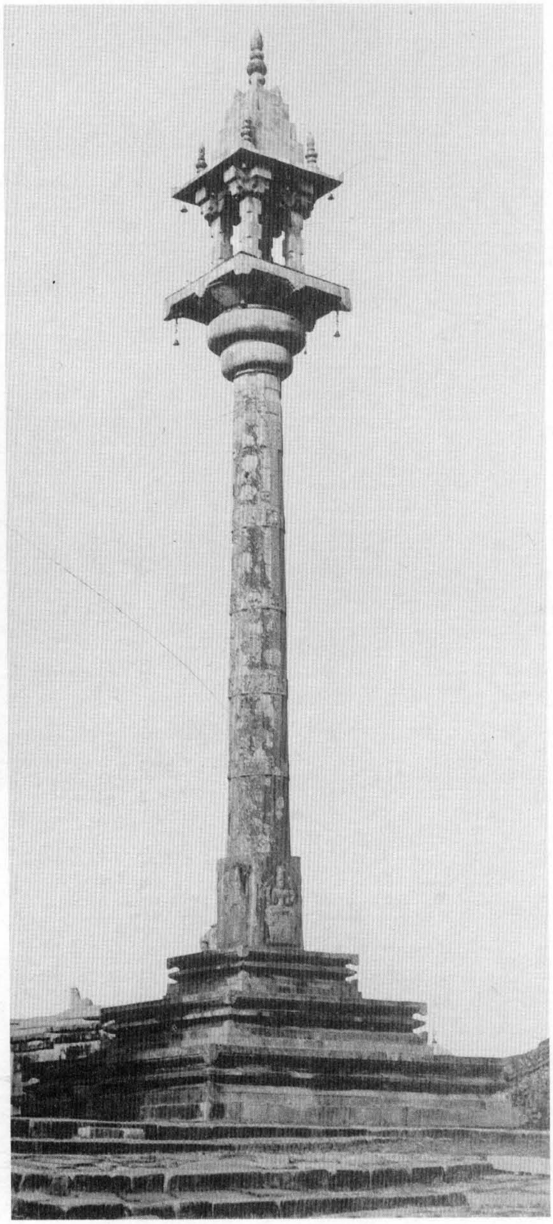
Pl. I : Akota (Gujarat): Seated Ṛṣabhanātha (copper alloy), tenth century AD, Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery



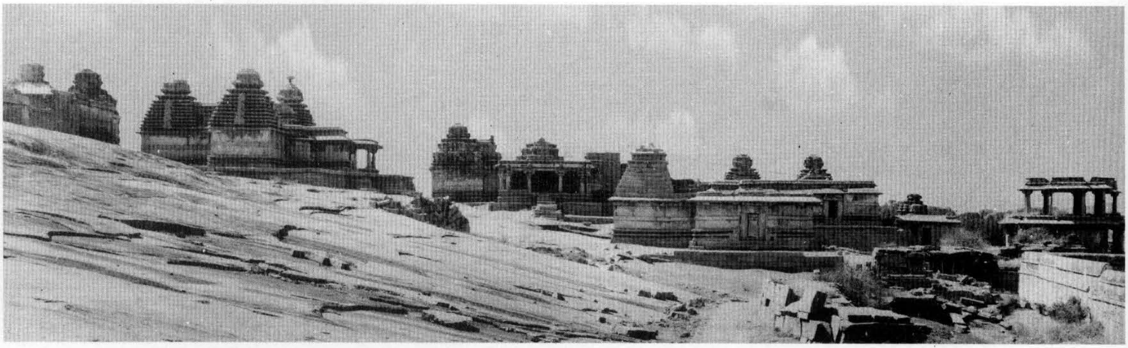
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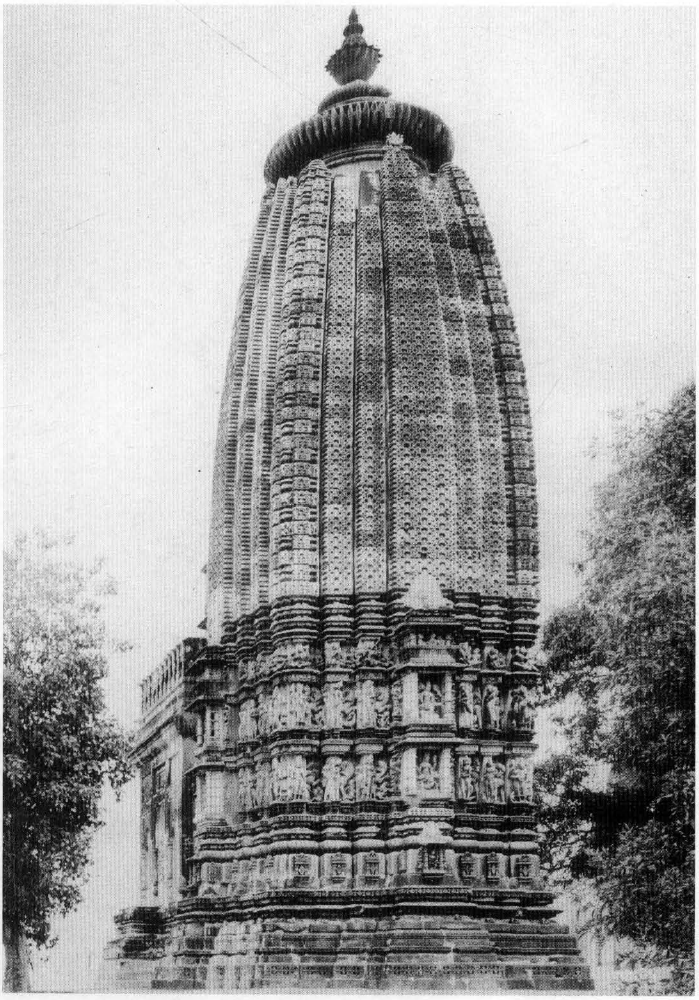


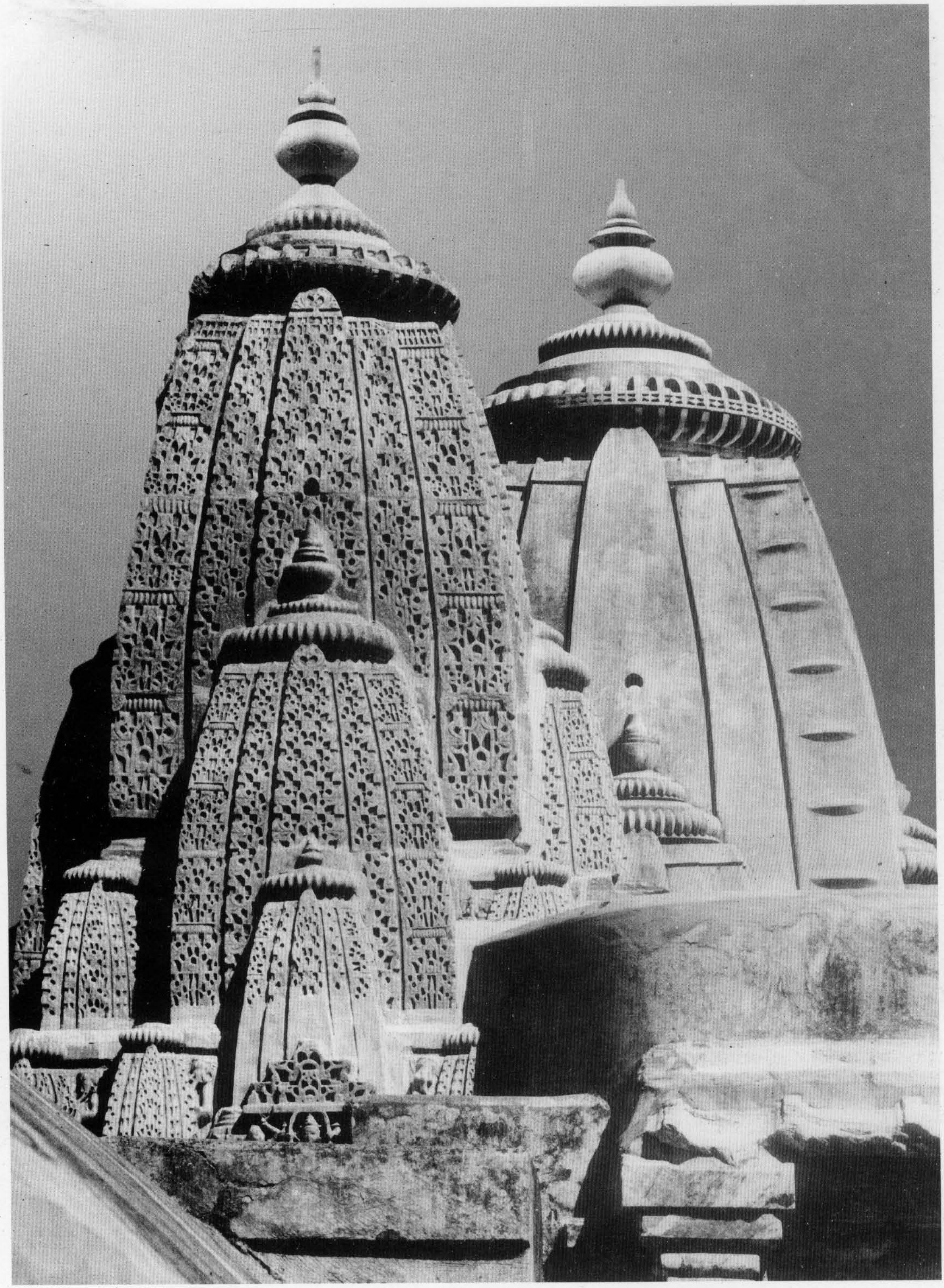
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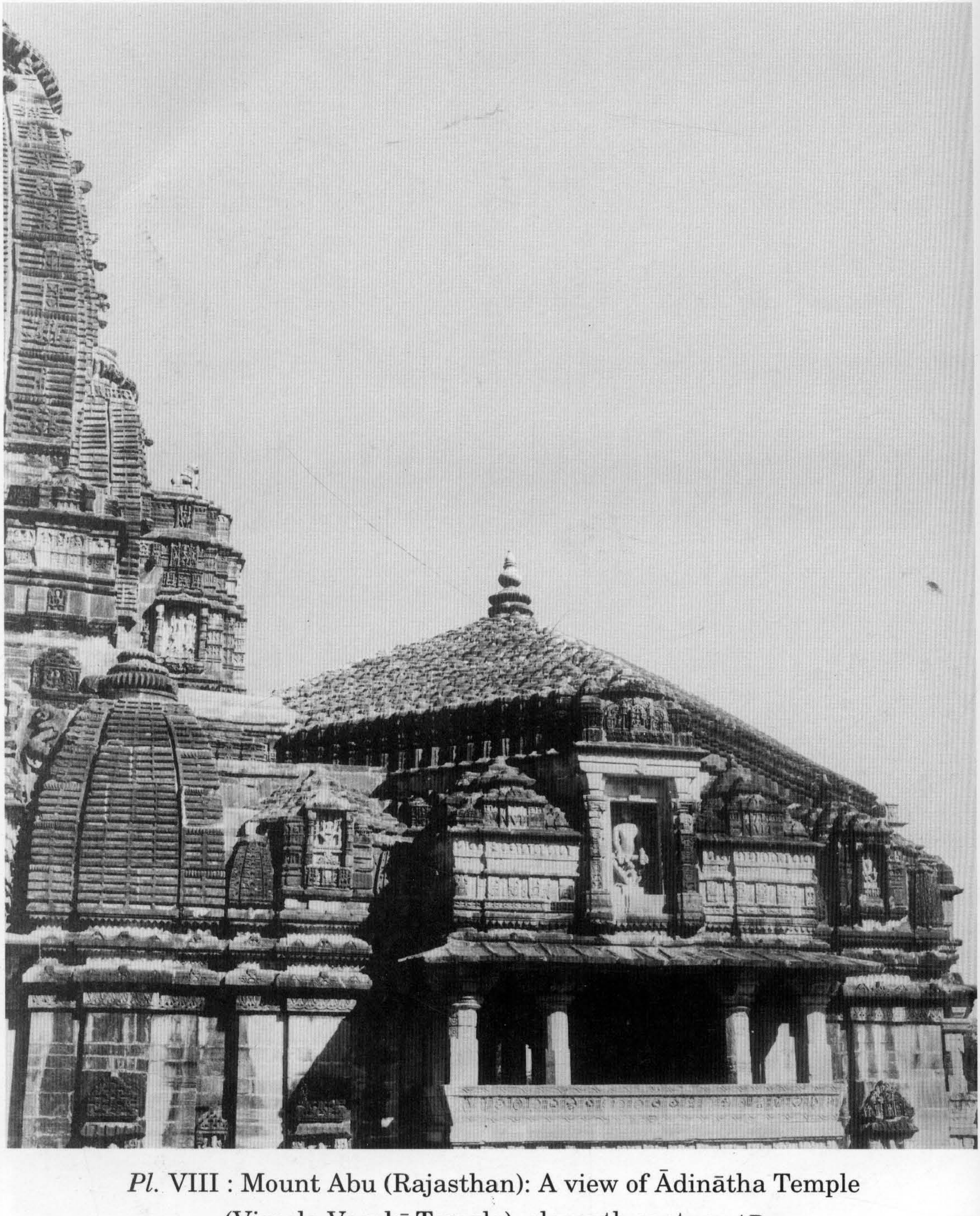
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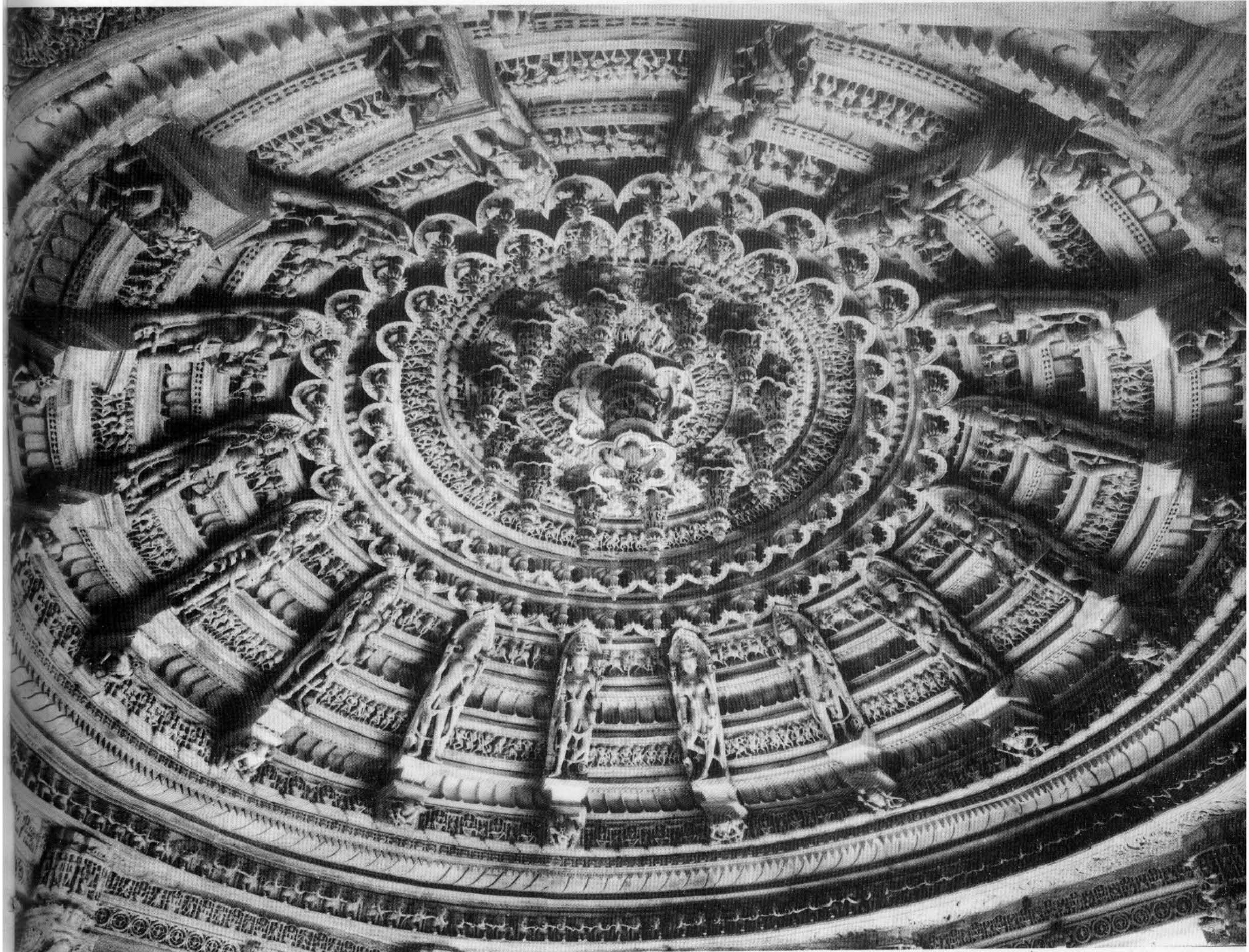




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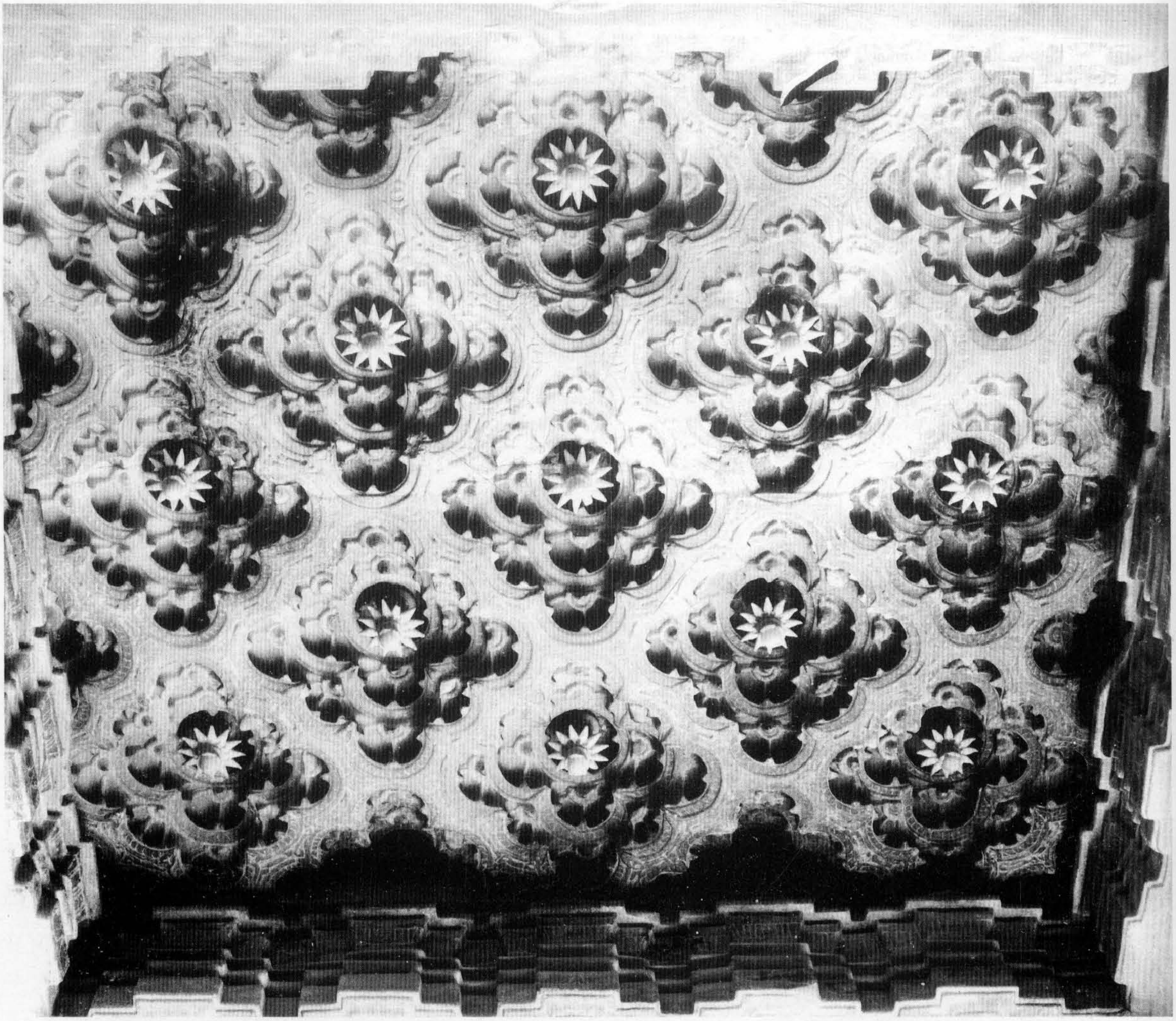
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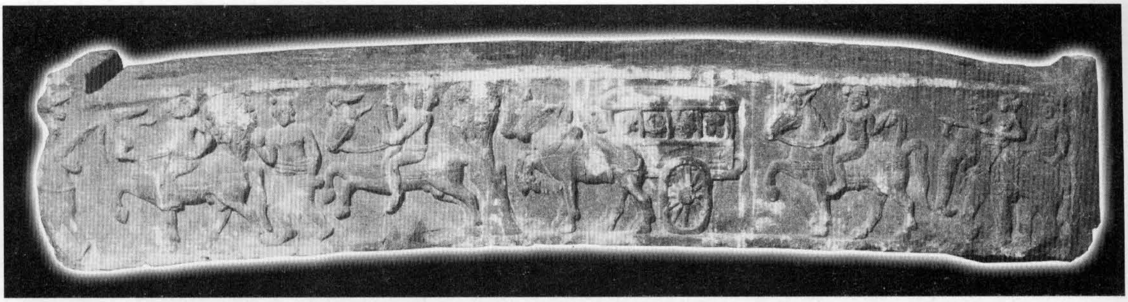
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